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**GENDER ISSUES AND SOCIAL CHANGE:
EVALUATING PROGRAMME IMPACT
IN RURAL BANGLADESH**

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Thesis submitted for the Masters of Philosophy

Development Policy and Practice

The Open University

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ABSTRACT

In rural Bangladesh many Non-Governmental Organisations run development programmes through which they aim to alleviate poverty. Most of these organisations have set themselves economic, social, gender and other objectives. Despite the fact that these organisations in principle do not prioritize economic objectives over the other objectives, it has been noted that economic aspects are more emphasized in evaluations than social ones.

In this study a range of social development dimensions have been explored. A variety of indicators were developed to investigate how these development dimensions could be evaluated at the village level and in particular how programme impact could be evaluated. Many of the indicators were derived from people's opinions about certain social issues, most of which concern women's lives. Social data are often of a qualitative nature, which makes evaluation difficult, especially when two sets of data are to be compared. In this study the qualitative data obtained for several indicators were transformed into quantitative data.

The research showed that many of the indicators chosen, and the way in which they were used, indeed have potential for social and gender evaluation. Ways in which they might be modified and further developed as an evaluative tool are suggested.

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PREFACE

A preface to this thesis was called for, for two reasons. Firstly, the order in which this research was conducted is unusual and needs some background information. Secondly, the fact that the research was conducted in an unusual order has led to an unusual order in which the thesis is presented.

Time dimension of the study: As an employee with the Bangladesh Rural Advancement Committee I conceived of the idea for this study. Originally, the idea was to conduct an actual evaluation. The design was to compare a programme village (that is, a village where a development scheme has been implemented) with a control village (where there had been no intervention). It was assumed that the two villages had been 'the same' at the onset of the intervention and that all differences between the villages could be ascribed to the intervention. Soon it became clear that without base-line information on either village, this assumption of the villages' 'sameness' was doubtful. The purpose of the research was shifted, therefore, to exploring various evaluation research methods and establishing their relative worth. This change of emphasis meant that originally the various research methods were seen as tools, later they were seen as the subject to be studied.

As a member of staff of an NGO, development theories and, even more, practice were buzzing all around me. This study was designed in what might be called a Rapid Rural Appraisal tradition. Methods and indicators were borrowed from numerous sources, amongst which were various in-house publications, seminars and personal communication. I clearly complied with one of the Rapid Rural Appraisal rules of 'optimal ignorance' because I used a minimal number of sources and therefore time to prepare the field study. It is ironic that it was only when I started reading academic publications for this degree that I learned that what I had done and what development NGOs do all the time could be labelled Rapid Rural Appraisal and that many of the methods used fitted into the latest development theories and had impressive names.

Presentation of the study: This study was done in a reverse order (first conducting a study and later reading up on the theory), which gives the study an interesting dimension. This is also the

reason for the unusual order of presentation of this thesis: first the research is presented, then relevant literature is reviewed. This will enable the reader to experience to a certain extent the time dimension of this study.

In the first three chapters the research is presented. In chapter one I explain why the research was done. In chapter two I describe how it has been conducted. The findings are presented in chapter three.

In chapter four and five the research is placed "into a larger framework". The literature on the type of organisation that provided the data for this research is reviewed in chapter four. Research methods and in particular development research methods are reviewed in chapter five.

Chapter six draws conclusions from the research.

In some ways this thesis does not conform to usual academic practices. Beside the exceptional order in which the research was conducted, it has other remarkable features. For instance, much less attention is paid to theory than to empirical findings. A case study on a woman's dilemma whether to divorce her violent husband has been granted twice as much space as a review of the modernization theory. As well, often less well-known sources are quoted rather than the famous authors.

In the text the reasons for this approach will be clear. But the following quote from Robert Chambers (1985) might be appropriate here.

... requirements of PhD research induce students to seek safety and respectability by avoiding shortcuts and finding out more, not less." (Chambers, 1985: p.125)

In this research some short-cuts have been used.

These words are written some time after the research was conceived. In this time I have gone through a learning process, which I now invite the reader to experience with me.

PURPOSE OF THE RESEARCH

Originally the purpose of the research was to evaluate the programme of a development organisation, named the Bangladesh Rural Advancement Committee (BRAC) in terms of its social and gender impact, rather than its economic impact which was regularly being monitored and evaluated. For the purpose a range of social indicators was developed and used to compare the level of emancipation in two villages, one where the BRAC development programme had been running for several years, and one where there had not been a project. The assumption was that any differences that were found in the outcome of these indicators for both the villages would be ascribed to the impact of the organisation's programme. However, this procedure was thought justifiable only if two conditions had been satisfied. These were (i) the villages had been comparable at the onset of the development intervention, and (ii) other influences the villages had been subject to, in addition to that of the development agency, were comparable as well.

With time, it became doubtful whether these two conditions had been met and the emphasis shifted away from the actual evaluation. Instead, the innovative research methodology became the central focus of the study, due to the fact that the research showed that many of the indicators chosen, and the way in which they were used, did have potential for social evaluation. Ways in which they might be modified and further developed as an evaluative tool are suggested.

POVERTY

Although it is very difficult to measure poverty and many people have different criteria and definitions for poverty, all agree that in Bangladesh poverty has been growing fast over the last few years. For instance, Ahmad mentions that in the year 1963/64 only 15% of the total population of Bangladesh lived below the poverty line while this percentage swelled to 81% in 1984 (Ahmad, 1989b). When the absolute poverty line is defined as a minimum daily calorie intake of 1805 kCal, then the

percentage of absolute poor has increased from 45% in 1974 to 50% in 1982 (World Bank, 1987).

Landlessness is another indicator of poverty in Bangladesh where the level of income is much dependent on the amount of land owned (Ahmad, 1989b). In 1947 15 per cent of the population was landless, in 1971 it was 37 per cent and by 1989 the official figure was 62 per cent of Bangladesh's population was landless (Monan, 1989:p.8).

THE DEVELOPMENT APPROACHES AND THEIR IMPACT

This growing marginalisation and landlessness stands in conflict with the fact that Bangladesh has had an average economic growth rate similar to the population growth rate since the 1960s (BRAC, 1989a).

The seeming contradiction can be explained by looking at the economic development policy consistently followed over the years. Over the last few decades the economic development policy in Bangladesh has basically remained production centred. The fact that the distribution of wealth was ignored in policy making has speeded up the process of marginalisation and in this period wealth has increasingly become concentrated with a few (BRAC, 1989a).

Already at the beginning of this century virtually the maximum area of cultivable land was in use leaving no cultivable fallow. Therefore the high population growth in Bangladesh has led directly to fragmentation and subdivision of land holdings. Very small plots of land are uneconomic. Thus, more and more people have had to sell their last bit of land and have become landless (BRAC, 1989a).

The rural industries cannot absorb all surplus labour. The rate of growth of rural industries is declining (BRAC, 1989a). The phenomenon of virtually unlimited labour supply results in employers being able to exploit labourers, and real wages in rural areas are declining. The declining real wage depresses the level of rural income which leads to chronic indebtedness among the poorest. This enables the rich to further exploit the poor, as the rich are almost the only source of credit (BRAC, 1989a).

The obvious result is the concentration of wealth in the hands of the few. On the other hand, ... the victims of polarization are reduced to physical subsistence. As a result of [the] act of production ... a labourer is strengthening the hands of those who are exploiting them in the system. (BRAC, 1989a)

The system of exploitation is well-embedded in Bangladesh's society. Everyone being exploited will find someone weaker than them to exploit. At the bottom of this pyramid of exploitation one will usually find the women.

THE STATUS OF WOMEN

Women are subject to exploitation both by society and by the family. It is not solely exploitation which causes the polarization of wealth. The fact that the poor are powerless allows the system to continue. And women are most powerless of all. They get married when still very young and then become subject to conjugal subjugation, subordination, ill-health and death in childbirth (Chen, 1986; Hartmann and Boyce, 1983; Abdullah and Zeidenstein, 1982).

Possible female bonds are regularly split up, because at marriage a woman moves in with her husband's family (Abdullah and Zeidenstein, 1982). In fact, the marriage system seems ingeniously 'designed' to minimize the solidarity between women and thus prevents them from becoming powerful.

Furthermore, women are powerless because only 10% of them are literate (ADAB, 1983:p.21). A woman is likely to get married at the age of 13, to go through 11 to 12 pregnancies and to have five to six surviving children (ADAB, 1983:p.21).

Although women participate equally with men in productive activities and work longer hours, their labour goes mostly unremunerated and unrecorded (CIRDAP, 1988). There is gender differentiation in the division of labour in Bangladesh. What is considered 'women's work' is usually those productive activities that are unpaid or they are unpaid because they are 'women's work' (CIRDAP, 1988).

Even if women produce a good on their own, social customs prevent most women from going to the market

to sell their goods or to buy raw materials. Hence, the cash money is handled by others who, therefore, have control over how much women will receive for their efforts. (CIRDAP, 1988)

EARLY APPROACHES TO RURAL DEVELOPMENT

In the 1960s most formal development schemes in East Pakistan (the area now called Bangladesh) were state induced phenomena. One of the leading approaches to rural development at that time was 'co-operation'.

State-initiated co-operation first took shape under the Pakistan government when the Comilla Project was initiated. This programme was later renamed IRDP and then BRDB. It had an integrated co-operative approach for rural development designed to achieve significant increase in rice production (Ahmad, 1989a).

Although this programme was intended to fight powerlessness, in its set-up the exploitative structure of society was not recognized. Poor and rich, men and women, were organised together in the same co-operatives. This resulted in the better-off getting most of the benefits.

This is apparent from Hossain and Afsar:

... as a result, BRDB cannot check the prevailing widespread corruption among the co-operative managers. Very often the managers are found engaged in business with the repayment money they collect from members of the 'samity' [=group in Bangla]. (BAPPI, 1989:p.222)

In disbursing the loan Sonali Bank gives more consideration to its existing policy guidelines and resources available, ... even the BRDB's Rural Poor Programme UCCA does not look after the interests of the poor. (BAPPI, 1989:p.222)

Thus, through this credit programme only the requests for loans which are already normally given credit, were granted. The programme helped the better-off to become even better off.

The top-down approach of this state-initiated cooperative development also contributed to the failure of this movement.

THE NGO¹ RESPONSES

Many realised that working through homogeneous groups could be part of a strategy for breaking through exploitative structures because in this way the intra-group exploitation could be avoided. Also a grassroots approach was identified as having potential. This meant the beginning of a new NGO movement in Bangladesh.

[The] development strategy [of this type of NGOs] may well be termed group based Empowerment Strategy. The central focus of the Empowerment Strategy is building power at the grassroots and the basic instruments used are "(i) function[al] conscientization, (ii) participatory organisation based on self-organising system and social action and reflection, (iii) collective values consisting of value based decisions and alternative social techniques, (iv) building economic power with a focus on local resources control and alternative technology, (v) expansion and institutionalisation for exploring new possibilities and overcoming stagnation. (BRAC, 1988)

The central theme in this NGO approach is the group, through which empowerment of the poor is achieved. Other activities like education and health are thought to only make sense if they assist a group-based empowerment programme (BRAC, 1988).

Among the various Bangladeshi NGOs who have a group-based empowerment approach there is a discussion going whether empowerment is an end in itself or whether it is a means to an end. Those who believe that empowerment is a means to an end, see the end as welfare which can be obtained through being empowered. Others believe that being empowered is a good, a commodity in itself which increases welfare.

THE NGO APPROACH AND WOMEN'S DEVELOPMENT

The NGO movement in Bangladesh did recognize at an early stage that exploitation of women by men is strongly embedded in society and they decided to have separate groups for women and men.

Their approach to women is not different from that to men, because women's need for empowerment is

¹ The word NGO stands for Non-Governmental Organisation. Below a more detailed definition of NGO will be offered in the section 'NGOs AND DEVELOPMENT', page 147 onwards.

essentially the same as men's (BRAC, 1988). Only women have two types of exploiters to free themselves from, in other words women are "doubly disadvantaged" (ADAB, 1983).

If women are to overthrow the burden of restrictions and limitations that surrounds them and participate as equal partners in the social process, they must enter all the sectors hitherto closed to them and compete with their male counterparts for a share of resources and positions. Only economic improvement, social freedom and political access can raise the status of ... women (ADAB, 1983:p.22-23)

To achieve these for the 'doubly disadvantaged' - the women - development NGOs organize the poor women in groups or co-operatives, conscientize them and give them access to productive resources.

THE AIM OF NGOS

It does happen that people working in NGOs get so wrapped up in their day-to-day tasks that they lose touch with what the goals of the organisation are.

One can say that all development programmes, whether private or government run, aim to improve people's well-being. Frequently, well-being is redefined by people as wealth. Wealth is the more tangible aspect of the concept well-being and changes in wealth are more noticeable. The level of wealth can be a poor indicator for the level of well-being. I experienced that one is more likely to meet a miserable person amongst tube-travellers in the City of London than amongst landless villagers in Bangladesh. At the same time, for a malnourished person, an increase in the level of wealth, while all other circumstances are the same, is undoubtedly an increase in level of well-being.

The sense of well-being is a very subjective issue. Two people living under identical circumstances, can have different levels of well-being.

When development NGOs define their programmes, they define for themselves what they think constitutes a high level of well-being. Then they do a cost-benefit analysis about what approach would be most beneficial to the target group's sense of well-being, given the organisation's resources. One of the reasons why different NGOs end up with different programmes is that NGOs have diverging views on what constitutes well-being and what would be the most efficient use of resources to enhance well-being.

The aim of improving the target group's sense of well-being all NGOs have in common.

BANGLADESH RURAL ADVANCEMENT COMMITTEE

The 'Bangladesh Rural Advancement Committee' or BRAC is the largest national NGO in Bangladesh. It is a Bangladeshi organisation, run by Bangladeshis for Bangladesh. BRAC's programme covers areas of all four districts of Bangladesh. BRAC is a very large organisation. For instance, with its oral rehydration education campaign² BRAC reached 12 million households, the greater part of Bangladesh's entire population.

BRAC follows a group empowerment approach to development, similar to other Asian indigenous NGOs. The idea behind the group empowerment approach is that one of the main causes of the poor continuing to be poor and even becoming poorer is that they are exploited by the rich. This exploitation is kept in place by the fact that the patron-client relationship, which is a vertical relationship, or a cross-class relationship, is the most common type of village relationships, rather than horizontal relationships. BRAC is generally of the opinion³ that by introducing horizontal solidarity or solidarity amongst the poorest, the strong patron-client relationship will be weakened and consequently exploitation will be reduced. To bring about this solidarity among the poor, BRAC sets out to stimulate homogeneous group formation and endeavours to make these groups strong through its conscientisation scheme which is described below.

Around the central focus of the group empowerment approach, three main programmes are attached, RDP (socio-economic programme), MCHP (health programme) and NFPE (education programme).

The programme village which is the subject of this research was a BRAC intervention village. BRAC's intervention consists in short of forming groups amongst landless men and landless women separately. After groups have been formed BRAC offers three programmes to its group members. The Rural

² In Bangladesh one of the great causes of death is dehydration due to diarrhoea. In many cases, dehydration can be prevented or treated through drinking Oral Rehydration Solution (ORS) which is a solution of salt and sugar in water. The oral rehydration education campaign undertaken by BRAC consisted of teaching villagers how to prepare and administer ORS.

³ oral communication from Iqbal Ahmad, Senior Research Economist

Development Programme is a socio-economic programme which encompasses conscientisation, a credit scheme, and helps people improve their income generating opportunities. The Mother and Child Health Programme is a preventive health care programme in particular focused on mothers and children, providing, amongst other things, information on nutrition and hygiene. The Non Formal Primary Education (NFPE) programme provides education mainly to female children who would not go to school otherwise.⁴ However, the MCHP and NFPE were both also covering areas where there had not been group formation and where RDP was not operating. For instance, as was mentioned earlier, the oral rehydration education campaign⁵ was covering nearly all of Bangladesh's households, whereas the RDP programme covers an area where 6 million people live, on a total population of 115 million.⁶

In its main programme, "... BRAC is pursuing two interrelated objectives: alleviation of poverty and empowerment of the poor. ... BRAC believes one cannot alleviate poverty without empowering the poor and one cannot empower the poor without alleviating, at least to some degree, their poverty." (BRAC, 1989b).

The earlier mentioned discussion between strategic versus practical development is also taking place within NGOs like BRAC. This is apparent when one looks at BRAC's history. BRAC had, until 1986, two independent programmes each testing one development paradigm --- the empowerment paradigm without remarkable direct poverty alleviating measures (the Outreach programme) and the poverty alleviation paradigm where organising the poor took a back-seat and economic aspects of development were the main preoccupation (the Rural Credit and Training Programme or RCTP). The two approaches existed next to each other for several years because within BRAC there were staff adhering to the idea that only through empowerment the well-being of the poor can be enhanced whereas there were other staff who were of the opinion that empowerment was not going to fill a poor person's stomach while that would be the priority of the poor. Both approaches were tried, so that it was possible to assess their relative worth.

⁴ See page 53 for more detailed information on the BRAC literacy programme, the NFPE-programme

⁵ In Bangladesh one of the great causes of death is dehydration due to diarrhoea. In many cases, dehydration can be prevented or treated through drinking Oral Rehydration Solution (ORS) which is a solution of salt and sugar in water. The oral rehydration education campaign undertaken by BRAC consisted of teaching villagers how to prepare and administer ORS.

⁶ oral communication 1. Ahmad, Senior Research Economist, BRAC

In 1986 both programmes were assessed as successful. Those working in the RCTP programme villages felt that the programme was successful in the sense that the group members were better off due to the programme. Many of them felt as well though that the programme did not address the structural cause of the poor's predicament. If more attention was paid to the organising of the poor the causes of the exploitative system would be better addressed. Those who had been involved in the Outreach programme felt that in a country like Bangladesh it is not enough to help the poor organise themselves to fight the system which causes poverty. If such poverty is to be addressed, direct poverty alleviation is also called for. Consequently, in 1986 the two programmes of Outreach and Rural Credit and Training Programme were merged into one programme named the Rural Development Programme (RDP).

When the Rural Development Programme was to start in a new area, the BRAC field-workers, called POs (programme organisers), would first visit the surrounding villages from the new 'branch' office. Then they would initially identify only three or four villages (later about 10 villages would be covered by the programme) that were reasonably easy to get to, whose inhabitants promised to be interested in developing themselves and who had proved co-operative, and where there was not an unusually low percentage of landless people.

In such a village, those who were landless as defined by those households not owning more than 50 decimals (= 0.5 acre) of land, would be invited to meet. During such first meetings the BRAC POs would together with the gathered landless analyse their situation. One of the constraints to their lives that would typically be identified was that the landless were facing low wages if there was any work at all and opportunities to acquiring their own production goods, such as land, were almost non-existent.

Following those first meetings, the BRAC POs would propose that they form groups of similar landless people, men and women separately.⁷ Then they would be able to exchange experiences and learn from each other during meetings.

⁷ In the past it had proven more beneficial especially to women to be in a single sex group, because their predicament was so different from that of the men.

Usually the enrolment of membership would be about 70% of the total landless population of such a village, which means that about 50% of the village households would have one or more members in a BRAC group. Depending on the size of the village there would be one or two male groups and one or two female groups. After group-formation the members would immediately be encouraged to start saving small amounts with the group. Most members would bring only 1 or 2 taka⁸ to their weekly meetings. After about 3 months for women's groups and 6 months for men's groups, and if the group was functioning satisfactorily, the group would then nominate who would be the first member who could take a loan. This first loan would amount to about 200 to 400 taka⁹. The first loanee would typically buy a goat with that money. The loans would need to be paid back equally in 1 or 2 weeks' installments and was subject to normal bank interest rates on loans.¹⁰

After such a first loan for a goat had been paid off, another loan could be obtained. With that loan together with the possible sale of the goat's young, the group-member could possibly buy a calf. From the calf she would step up to keeping hybrid chicken layers, for instance, and so on.

Some groups chose to work as a cooperative - several group members chose to venture together into business. For instance, some groups had even started brick-fields together, producing bricks for house-construction. Even several groups together would be involved in the brick-fields offering employment to about 100 people.

Beside the savings- and credit-scheme and the income-generation, a so-called conscientisation programme was run by BRAC which consisted both of a technical education part and a social awareness-raising part. During monthly meetings, the BRAC Programme Organisers (POs) would conduct sessions. Those sessions concerning technical knowledge included such topics as "improved chicken husbandry", whereas the social awareness-raising sessions would be about topics such as "should dowry be paid if someone gets married".

⁸ 1 taka was at the time about 2 pence sterling.

⁹ 4 to 8 pounds sterling.

¹⁰ At the time the interest rate was 18%. Villagers considered this to be cheap because they would be charged 100 to 400% by local moneylenders.

The social part mostly involved discussions. Sometimes resolutions were made. For instance, some groups have resolved that they are utterly against the system of dowry and that they want to try to ban it in their village. This social component of RDP is far less streamlined and consolidated than the economic component. The way it is executed depends to a large extent on the initiative of the POs involved.

For this research no information could be obtained on the content of the social component of RDP as it has been run in the programme village, mainly because there had been recent staff changes.

After six years, the BRAC conscientisation programme was considered to be completed and such a branch would be handed over to the Rural Credit Programme (RCP), a programme which functions only as a bank for the landless. However, the groups are encouraged to continue meeting on their own for discussing other issues than just credit. The BRAC village where this research was conducted had been handed-over to RCP a few months before the research was conducted. Here the groups indeed continued meeting monthly. However, the POs would usually still attend as well.

The intention is that the RCP will become a permanent institution in the area. The conscientisation programme of the RDP is considered to be a temporary intervention which should come to an end after six years.

The two other programmes of BRAC, the Non-Formal Primary Education and the Mother and Child Health Programme, are run quite independently from RDP. The staff of the different programmes might not even be accommodated in the same branch office.

RDP is the programme of BRAC that this research is concerned with most. However, certain development dimensions explored in this research concern the other two programmes more, such as the numeracy and literacy development dimension.

Within gender studies an interesting distinction has been developed between 'women's needs', 'practical gender needs' and 'strategic gender needs'. This distinction was pointed out originally by M. Molyneux.¹¹

"The concept of women's interests assumes compatibility of interests based on biological similarities..." (Moser, 1989) but "[w]omen's needs vary widely according to specific socio-economic context and the particular class, ethnic and religious position of women within it." (Moser and Levy, 1986). Women's identity is determined by social factors as well as biological ones. Biologically there are two sexes, socially there are two genders. Therefore, "Gender interests are those that women (or men for that matter) may develop by virtue of their social positioning through gender attributes." Molyneux (1985, p.232 quoted in Moser, 1989:p.1803). Gender needs are those needs that women 'have in common' across social classes and ethnic groups. (Moser, 1989) Practical gender needs "are formulated from the concrete conditions women experience in their 'engendered' position within the sexual division of labor" (Moser, 1989), whereas strategic gender needs 'arise from a desire to challenge women's sub-ordination and existing gender relations.' (based on Johnson, 1992:p.149).

A similar distinction could be made between the various needs of 'the poor' or 'the exploited' as a group. Parallel names would be 'practical class needs' and 'strategic class needs' whereas the equivalent of 'women's needs' would be 'the poor's needs'.

In this thesis, the terms 'practical needs' and 'strategic needs' are used to concern the poor as a whole and 'practical gender needs' and 'strategic gender needs' concern the sub-group poor women.

¹¹ M. Molyneux (1985) mentioned 'interests' rather than 'needs' but to translate the threefold conceptualisation into planning terms C.O.M. Moser (Moser and Levy, 1986; Moser, 1989) introduced the term 'needs' instead of 'interests'.

There is a sizeable amount of research done on women in Bangladesh. Many publications are available: Arens and van Beurden, 1977; Hartmann and Boyce, 1986; Chen, 1986; Abdullah and Zeidenstein, 1982; White, 1992; Rozario, 1992; Ahmad, 1991 are just a few of them.

These works all agree that women in Bangladesh are leading very disadvantaged lives.

Together with other South Asian countries, Bangladesh is one of the few countries in the world where there are fewer women than men (Kabeer, 1982). Kabeer ascribes this 'shortfall' of women to the fact that girls are given less food and less nutritious food than their sibling brothers. Girls and women are less likely to have money spent on treatment for them when they are ill. Similarly, women are the last to eat in the family (Arens and van Beurden, 1977). Consequently, if the family has food shortages it is mainly the women who go without. Grown and even not fully grown women go through pregnancies in unhygienic circumstances and additionally they are often not physically fit for bearing a child due to being malnourished.

Purdah¹² is identified as one of the sources of women's disadvantage.

... purdah is one of the strongest means of oppression of women in Bangladesh as it restricts them in many ways (Arens and van Beurden, 1977:p.33)

Life is dominated by men; it is mainly men who are seen in the streets, at marketplaces, at meetings etc. Women have to observe purdah and they are excluded from the outside world. (Arens and van Beurden, 1977:p.33)

Another source of the inequality between men and women is the difference in access to resources, or as S.C. White calls it, access to markets.

Whatever the overlap and interconnection between them [women and women's market activities], however, there is no doubt that the overall segregation of markets by gender is at once a potent symbol and a prime means of sustaining male dominance within households and in the community more generally. (White, 1992:p.46)

¹² Purdah, as is stated further on, refers to an Islamic code of behaviour for women, under which women have to dress modestly in front of men, hiding their hair, figure and sometimes face and women are not to go out at all or at least a lot less than men.

The fact that there is a strict gender division in labour and responsibilities is a contributing factor to women's lesser control and access to resources. Due to the 'hat' (means market in Bengali) being a male domain (White,1992:p.73), marketing is strictly a responsibility of men. Women can therefore neither control how their produce is being sold and who gets the profit, nor can women control how the household's cash is spent when purchases are being made in the market.

H.A. Chen (1986, pages 46-50) reports that the labour division is as follows:

For rice, the field operations are executed only by men. Threshing is carried out jointly by men and women. Winnowing and sieving of grain, drying, parboiling, husking, polishing and milling is all done by women. Also storage is a woman's responsibility.

Women prepare the storage bins and supervise the storage of the grain. It is women who can judge rice, paddy, and seed for its quality and moisture before and during store.

Storage of seed paddy requires the greatest care and longest time. The seed paddy must be dried more carefully and longer (for "three suns") than paddy for consumption. The plastered baskets in which seed paddy is stored must be hermetically sealed with a mixture of cow dung and mud (Chen,1986:p.47)

Preparation and cooking rice and making rice products such as 'murri' is all done by women.

For wheat production there are similar divisions of labour between women and men.

In jute production men are solely responsible for land preparation, planting, weeding and harvesting.

Steeping of the jute is also done by men alone. Stripping jute fibre and storing are activities for

both men and women. Processing jute into rope and macrame wall hangers is done by women alone.

Processing into fencing is done by men and women equally. Marketing of the finished product is undertaken by men.

Animal production is the sole responsibility of women.

In the case of craft manufacture such as clay stoves, bamboo trays, mats, mattresses, quilts and fans women are the sole producers.

For hut construction and repair women are responsible for laying the foundation, preparing floors, carrying mud and clay for walls and floors, while men erect the walls and thatch the roofs.

Collecting fuel is the sole responsibility of women.

Women clean the huts, stalls, and homesteads, wash the dishes and utensils; cook and serve meals; and run numerous errands.

It is women who reproduce and maintain the labour force, for feeding, tending, bathing, supervising and putting to bed children is all a woman's job.

Preparing food and serving any hired labourers is equally done by women.

It is clear that women's contribution to the production of a household is very large and might involve more than 50% of the time spent on the total production process. Additionally, women are responsible for the entire household's reproductive tasks. To fulfil all these tasks, women in Bangladesh work long hours. M.A. Chen reports that their day starts as early as 3:00A.M. during harvest, to start cooking, and that they will not rest again until 10:00 P.M. (Chen,1986:p.51-52).

The fact that women are generally labelled as 'without work' by men (Chen, 1986), could be related to women being more active in non-cash production, such as growing vegetables (Arens and van Beurden,1977:p.39) for the household's consumption. As well, because of the strict division of labour on gender lines, the men do not realise how much and how heavy work is involved in the women's tasks of processing rice and wheat, simply because men have never experienced the work (Chen,1986).

Additionally, due to 'purdah', women's activities are for the greater part in and around the homestead and consequently less visible. On the whole, productivity that leads to a direct cash income is regarded as superior to other activities.

The class differentiation in women's position should not be overlooked (White,1992). Women from

richer households are often facing problems of a different nature to women of poorer households. Women of richer households often have to observe purdah rules more strictly and consequently are restricted in their mobility more severely. Women of middle income households are said to work the longest days in peak periods. These households hire in labour to work the land and such labourers need to be fed, whereas these households do not hire anyone to help with the cooking, which richer households would do (Chen,1986:p.51).

Women of poorer households might have relatively more status within their household and marriages because their contribution to the household is more visible. They might even contribute in cash, e.g. through 'cutting earth' which ironically is one of the lowest status jobs that can be obtained; a woman 'cutting earth' will lower the status of the whole household (White,1992).

Most of women's employment, however, does not bring in cash to the household. The most likely employment for a woman is doing domestic work in another richer household. Wages are even lower than men's wages. For a complete day's work often women do not receive more reward than adequate food for one adult for a day (White,1992; Arens and van Beurden,1977:p.44). Sometimes, in the case of long-term employment in one household, the woman might receive some clothing as well.

Another activity commonly undertaken by women would be to husk rice for another household which will leave them with about 12% of the amount husked as profit (White,1992).

Other, less economic, disadvantages for women are for a great part related to marriage. Marriage is near universal and unmarried women are regarded as an anomaly (Rozario,1992). Consequently, there is great pressure on women to get married. Women, or more likely girls, formally have to give their consent to the match their parents make, but in practice they have no choice. Men, or boys, do have and sometimes exercise a veto right.

The fact that girls move out of their own household to their husband's household is often identified as a main source of their problems. In the new household they need to build new bonds and they lose their old ones (Chen,1986:p.56).

But even in her parental home a girl might be disadvantaged because she will later move to another household.

Young girls are thought of, and often called, "guests". The meaning is clear: she will eventually leave her paternal home. Implicit is the thought that too much trouble will not be taken in her upbringing. There is little incentive for the family to invest in girls over boys for education, specialized treatment, responsibility, or leadership. (Chen,1986:p.55)

In particular, Muslim men practice their right to divorce. Divorced women are practically without a chance to remarry and being divorced implies a lot of social stigma quite apart from the fact that it is hard to survive economically on your own in a society with such a strict division of labour. Men can easily remarry.

Very frequently nowadays the parents of the bride have to pay a dowry and, reportedly, the dowry prices paid are continuously rising. As recently as the 1920s the payment was usually by the parents of the boy to the girl's parents rather than the other way round, in particular amongst Muslims (White,1992).

Rather than divorcing the first wife, men sometimes take a second wife in addition to the first and live in polygamy. This is more common amongst richer households. Being one of the wives in a polygamous household brings with it an extra set of difficulties since the other wife often forms yet another person to be reckoned with in addition to the husband and the mother-in-law. However, living in polygamy is usually preferred to divorce:

Socially, it is more acceptable to be a co-wife than a divorced woman.
(Chen,1986:p.56)

Other marriage-related phenomena are that women often do not have control over their own bodies (Arens and van Beurden,1977:p.36) and their fertility.

The custom of early marriage for girls can have a positive influence on total marital fertility. As women are kept socially secluded and economically dependent, they try to secure their position by producing male children. The age gap between husband and wife increases the risk of widowhood and of being saddled with a disabled husband. ...

The difference in age impairs communication between husband and wife, and cripples the ability of women to regulate fertility even after the desired number and sex of children is

achieved. .. (Ahmad,1991:p.37)

Within a marriage the husband beating the wife is not uncommon (White,1992).

In the first place marriage is based on economics. The husband needs his wife to prepare his food and to bear children, while the wife needs her husband to provide her with food and clothes. The wife is the most dependent one, since she usually does not have any income of her own, nor does she generally have money or land. Because marriages are mainly based on economic necessity and not primarily on mutual respect, and also because a husband exerts power over his wife, there is not often much friendly contact between the two. In several cases we noticed an outward bad relationship. (Arens and van Beurden,1977:p.56)

OBJECTIVE OF THE STUDY

The objective of the study was to contribute to the debate about the evaluation of the effectiveness of the NGO approach in practice in initiating social change with specific emphasis on the emancipation of the disadvantaged womenfolk. The study tested out ideas for new methods of monitoring those social development variables not given enough weight in current evaluation methods.

When considering some NGOs' evaluation efforts, one finds that social indicators are under represented in routine evaluations. (BRAC, 1989b) One of the reasons for this is that it is difficult to express social indicators in a numerical form. For instance, it is hard to express people's attitude to women's rights in a concrete form. Loan repayment rate on the contrary is one of the most easily computed indicators. It can be expressed in a numerical form and thus it is easy to draw comparisons between the performance of different branches of an organisation and even different organisations. This might be the reason why donors give so much weight to the loan repayment rates of the various fund recipients. What is of greater importance to an NGO is that loans go to those who need them most. But these and similar aspects of development are hard to record and are therefore under-represented in reports. The donors have to make comparisons between fund-receiving NGOs on the basis of the information available to them. Therefore, in their assessment certain important but hard-to-record aspects of development are not taken into account. Some organisations might wrongly be assessed as being very successful at improving the poor's well-being whereas other organisations doing a very good job might not be acknowledged in such an assessment. Evaluations work as an incentive to the people working in an NGO. If certain important aspects of the development programme are not being assessed in evaluations then it might encourage the staff of the organisation to divert attention away from these aspects.

This research explores possibilities of measuring and assessing social change on a number of dimensions. Each development dimension (or area of study) is assessed in both qualitative and quantitative terms. Primarily, the two approaches are used alongside each other for cross-checking

the findings from each, but also to compare their relative worth.

One of the aims of the research is to assist the process of developing an index which measures the level of social change. This index probably has to be one based on social data that can be expressed in a numerical form. Such an index would allow assessment of an NGO's achievement in those fields that are currently under-represented in evaluation methods.

RESEARCH QUESTIONS

1. Can one assess the impact of NGO group-based empowerment programmes by measuring social (development) variables in programme and non-programme areas?
2. Which aspects of social development (and in particular women's development) are the most feasible for assessing change at a village level?

METHODOLOGY

Origin of the methodology

The methodology followed for this research was strongly influenced by the development approach of BRAC in general and in particular by the research approach commonly followed by BRAC's Research and Evaluation Division (RED). This research approach BRAC called "action research" and this approach stems from the indigenous NGO movement as it exists in Bangladesh. As it turns out, the methodology followed for this research has many similarities with both Rapid Rural Appraisal and feminist methodologies. In particular the former also stems from the NGO tradition. The exact extent to which they correspond will be discussed in chapter 5 in the sections on 'Feminist research methodology' and 'RRA methodology'.

Study villages

As has already been mentioned above, originally the research question was concerned with evaluating the impact of the programme of a Bangladeshi NGO, the Bangladesh Rural Advancement Committee¹³. For this purpose a programme village was studied and compared to a non-programme village, also called the control village. The non-programme village was to function as a control for the programme village.

The control village was chosen from the villages covered by the Village Study Project (VSP), a detailed study conducted by BRAC covering six villages. Four of these villages had just started to be subject to BRAC's intervention programme. The remaining two were not included in BRAC's programme; they would act as control villages for the Village Study Project.

The VSP will be conducted over several years and is expected to provide information on the impact of BRAC's programme, mainly from an economic point of view.

The reason for choosing the control village for my study from one of the VSP villages was that in these villages certain information had already been collected which would save time. Beside this, it was thought useful to work in a village where BRAC had already built up a relationship rather than in a village where there would be no organisational support.

For this research the administrative unit of 'village' as defined by the 'upazila' office was not used, because it is important to employ "the concept of 'socially acknowledged' 'gram' [= village]." (Adnan, 1990:p.35)

The programme village. A village was selected from the BRAC Rural Credit Programme Area Office in Jhikargacha. This is an area where BRAC has been present for over six years. When selecting the village, the Area Manager was allowed to choose whichever village he thought most appropriate, as long as the village had both a male and a female group, had been subject to intervention for at least

¹³ see section 'BANGLADESH RURAL ADVANCEMENT COMMITTEE', page 15 onwards.

six years and was not in any major way peculiar. This gave the Area Manager the chance to direct us to a village that was doing well in his eyes.¹⁴ This way nobody could later object that the findings were not valid because the village chosen had been an unusually 'bad' village.

The village selected was right on a major through-road, close to a small market place, and had very fertile high-lying land. In addition, the land-person ratio was high by Bangladesh standards.

In this thesis the programme village is also referred to as the intervention village and in particular in the tables as the experimental village or the BRAC village.

The control village. To match the programme village with its good starting conditions, a village with a similar location and other similar features had to be found. The idea had originally been that the control village was going to be one of the two villages that were also control villages under the Village Study Project¹⁵ (VSP) conducted in Monirampur, close by Jhikargacha.

Unfortunately, these villages were physically completely dissimilar to the programme village, being very far away from any 'paka' (paved) road or market place and having a much lower level of literacy, especially amongst women.

Instead, a programme village of the Village Study Project was chosen. BRAC's intervention, having only started a year before the data-collection, was presumed not to have resulted in any social change yet. The village selected had a remarkably similar location and a similar (high) land-person ratio. However, it became clear later that this village must have been different from the programme village in many respects before BRAC started working in the Jhikargacha village.

In general, it is always going to be difficult to find comparable villages. A village is always different from another village in one way or another and to call villages 'comparable' will always

¹⁴ The Area Manager never informed me what criteria he employed for choosing the village. However, it is to be expected that his criteria would be based on the aspects that are usually stressed by the organisation, which are a strong group organisation, high loan repayment rates, etc. Other considerations for the area manager's choice undoubtedly were practical considerations such as easy and safe access for my assistant and myself.

¹⁵ the Village Study Project (VSP) is a study conducted by BRAC. It will cover several years assessing BRAC's programme over the years. The VSP started at the same time as BRAC's intervention and aims to give an idea about how BRAC's intervention progresses.

contain a value judgement. Since this comparability is a crucial precondition, without which an evaluation is invalid, I would now suggest that for any future evaluation based on the proposed methodology, one should not rely on a control village for singling out programme impact. Instead, the method for evaluating programme impact proposed in this thesis, should be used in the same village before the programme commences and again after the programme has been running for a certain amount of time. In that setting a control village will serve for comparison purposes.

Development Dimensions

Social development has many aspects. To call these aspects 'indicators' would not be appropriate in this research, because each aspect of development has been researched through one or more indicators. For example, 'percentage of illiteracy' is an indicator of the development aspect 'Literacy and Numeracy'. In this thesis, the term 'development dimensions' is used to mean the aspects of social development researched.

Indeed, "The term "indicator" reflects the necessary modesty that must attain to statistics intended to measure one or other aspect of development: indicators are not necessarily direct and full measures of what they are intended to indicate but often indirect or incomplete measures..."

(McGranahan et al. , 1985:p.5-6). In other publications, what is here called 'development dimensions' have been called "key problem areas" (United Nations, 1984), and "development areas" (United Nations, 1987) and "important features of social change" (Miles, 1985).

The level of social development can be measured through various indicators within various development dimensions. These can be concrete and abstract. I identified the most essential aspect of social change concerning women as being the way women perceive themselves and are perceived by others. A further important aspect concerns what both men and women's opinions are on certain issues strongly related to women's rights and freedom. Although a change of people's opinion on women's issues might seem of little substantial help to women, without this change in the way of thinking, other more concrete changes will not be able to take place. The way people think has to change before their behaviour will change voluntarily. Social change is a very slow process and to be able to assess at

an early stage whether an organisation has brought about any changes, it is best to look at what changes first: people's thinking. I considered women's social change to be essentially a state of mind, it mostly concerns a way of thinking. Definitely, by thinking that women are equal to men, the groundwork has been done and it will be only one more step to them effectively be equal. By exploring villagers' attitude towards several issues, an assessment might be done of whether the inhabitants of a programme village have a different attitude to women than the inhabitants of a control village. This is why many of the indicators used in this research concern the respondents' opinion.

When this research was originally designed, it was not then envisaged that ultimately it would be used for academic purposes. Thus the development dimensions and their indicators were chosen in a somewhat ad-hoc fashion. For instance, at the time, I did not properly note down the details of the main sources I based the choice of indicators on.

As discussed earlier, the development dimensions looked into for this research concern social development with special emphasis on gender aspects and have been selected particularly because they are usually under-represented in numerically expressed evaluations.

Most of my inspiration for development dimensions and particularly their indicators came from Amin's "Gender Inequality within Households: The Impact of a Women's Development Program in 36 Bangladeshi Villages" (Amin, 1990?). Amin suggested (and has used herself) very detailed and practicable indicators and she even supplied some interview questions. Examples of these are "At what age should girls marry?" to research the indicator of what people perceive as the right marriage age which is an indicator for the development dimension of 'Marriage', and "Have you ever travelled to the upazila centre or Dhaka?" to research the indicator of distance people travel or people's mobility which is an indicator for the development dimension of 'Purdah'.

The logic of the first question, asking respondents for their opinion, was elaborated in this research and applied to other development dimensions.

Another source I used for determining development dimensions and indicators was Elizabeth Eviota's article "Measuring Filipino Women's Participation in Development" (1979). For example, the development dimension of Boy Preference was borrowed from this source.

Most of the 16 development dimensions that were studied in this research are also suggested by Marty Chen in the Annex C.1 of her "Appraisal Report on BRAC", BRAC, 1988.

The 16 Development Dimensions that have been selected were :

1. AWARENESS
2. LITERACY AND NUMERACY
3. INTER HOUSEHOLD CONFLICTS
4. INTRA HOUSEHOLD CONFLICTS
5. THE CONCEPT OF POWER
6. DECISION MAKING
7. FAMILY PLANNING
8. MARRIAGE
9. CHILD BEARING
10. DIVORCE
11. POLYGAMY
12. DOWRY
13. PURDAH
14. ATTITUDE TO SEXUAL VIOLENCE
15. BOY PREFERENCE
16. WIFE BATTERING

These 16 development dimensions mostly address strategic needs, whether needs of the poor or gender needs. Some of them, like DECISION MAKING, concern both practical and strategic needs. If women are more involved in the decision making process of the household, for instance, they will be able to improve their practical needs but also their strategic needs because the system keeping women subordinated is changed.

There is a value judgment involved in both the choice of development dimensions and the weight given to each of them and in the choice of which indicator indicates the development dimension. For instance, I considered it beneficial to social change that people wanted to have two or less children rather than more, or when women do not wear a 'burkah'.

Of course other people might have had different opinions as to what is desirable change and then the

choice of development dimensions to be measured would have been different.

Weighting of development dimensions

In this research a number of dimensions of social change has been investigated. Each dimension might result in a different verdict on the programme. To do a final assessment of such a programme the relative importance of each development dimension has to be established -- the importance of the various aspects of social development investigated have to be weighed. This can be done in many ways. For instance, each development dimension can be given equal weight. Or, if one development dimension is considered a lot more important than others, this development dimension could be allotted a greater weight than the others. The weighting reflects which development dimensions the researcher considers to deserve priority. Furthermore, it might be that the indicators for one development dimension are more reliable and therefore more conclusive than the indicators assessing another development dimension. Each development dimension has therefore also been given varying degrees of weight according to these levels of reliability or conclusiveness.

The weight allotted due to the level of importance involves a value judgment which is subject to debate, but the weight allotted due to the level of reliability or conclusiveness is derived from the research itself and is objective.

Research Tools

It was mentioned earlier that the research was done through quantitative and qualitative methods. This resulted in the use of two types of research tools.

Most of the information was collected through structured questionnaires. This made comparison between the two villages feasible as the information from different locations was in the same format. Part of the objective of this study was to develop methods of research that could be replicated. This was another reason to choose structured questionnaires as the main research tool.

The drawback of structured questionnaires is that they often suffer from being too rigid, not leaving enough space for interesting matters that might come up in natural conversation. In addition, respondents are less interested to talk when they are asked questions in such an unnatural fashion.

Keeping this in mind, the main questionnaire was designed in such a way that issues of interest to the villagers were explored. Most of the questions were enquiring about people's opinion on these issues. This had several advantages. First, the respondents turned out to be very keen to tell me their opinions, no interviewee was uncooperative. It was like having a real conversation. Secondly, it gave the respondent dignity being asked her or his thoughts. Thirdly, it was thought that people's opinion was the most crucial aspect of social development, it being indispensable for people changing their behaviour voluntarily. Fourthly, collecting people's opinion allows everyone to answer the questions since everyone can have an opinion on issues. Hence, the sample size was as large as possible. For instance, even if the interviewee did not have a daughter, they could still be asked so-called "magic questions"¹⁶ such as "if you had a daughter, would you pay dowry for her?" If one only asks "Have you given dowry for your daughter or not?", the number of respondents will be much smaller because only those with married daughters can answer.

The questionnaires were first written in English, after which I translated them into Bangla heavily assisted by a native speaker. On the questionnaires the questions were printed both in Bangla and English. The questionnaires were tested out on the house personnel of well-to-do families in Dhaka.

In addition, in the programme village, village informants were approached with structured questionnaires to provide information about the village's history and about village affairs and politics. In particular information on the way the various households of the village interacted was sought from the village informants. They would also serve as a double check on the findings obtained through the individual questionnaires. Two people who sit in the 'shalish'¹⁷ were selected as village informants. Because they both came from the more wealthy segment of the village population

¹⁶ The term "magic questions" is used by David H. Penny (1973) referring to hypothetical questions that can be posed to everyone since the respondent is asked to imagine being in a certain situation.

¹⁷ 'shalish' means village court

the other village informants chosen were a very senior poor villager and the female and male group leaders of the organisation working in the programme village. In the control village no village informants were used. This village was much larger and so there was not the same unity in that village as in the intervention one, which was only one-third of the size. We did not spend as much time in the control village either and therefore could not build up the same level of intimacy. The information obtained from village informants (as much as for other respondents) is dependent on the outlook and education of the village informants chosen. This makes the use of village informants problematic for replication purposes, because the number of village informants (the sample) is so small. The usefulness of including village informants for this study is that they are a check on the quality of the other research tools that were used.

In addition, other ethnographic methods were used, such as informal ad-hoc discussions, when a whole day was spent with one household observing their daily routine. Although these were of crucial importance for the research, providing in-depth understanding of the villagers, the data were not transferable into a numerical measure and could not be replicated, but were crucially important in allowing a cross-check on the numerical information.

Sample

Most development organisations operating in Bangladesh consider their impact in terms of social development to be at the village level. In both the programme village and the control village the sample was selected at random after taking into account the following considerations:

- (i) Households mentioned as uncooperative were avoided;
- (ii) Four out of five households selected were selected from poor households¹⁸. In this way there was a bias towards those people, the poor, whose level of social development NGOs are concerned with. In the programme village the sample consisted of 22 households, 17 of which were households below the poverty line. The total number of households was 81 in the programme village. In the control village 15 households were interviewed, 12 of which were

¹⁸ 'poor' is here defined as households owning less than 50 decimals (50 decimals = 0.5 acre) of land and hiring out labour for at least 100 days a year. This is a definition widely used by development organisations in Bangladesh including BRAC whose 'target-group' is defined in this way.

households below the poverty line. The total number of households in the control village was 240.

- (iii) In both the villages about 10% of the households were Hindu, the remaining being Muslim. In both villages the sample included slightly more than 10% Hindus. (3 out of the 22 sample households in the programme village, and 2 out of the 15 sample households in the control village were Hindu households.)
- (iv) In the programme village, all polygamous households were included, since polygamy was one of the dimensions to be researched. However, the head of one of the three polygamous households was temporarily absent and could not be included, which was why that household was not included.
- (v) Households mentioned as being of any particular interest were purposely included. E.g. a couple was included because they had been married very young.
- (vi) If several households were likely to be very similar, only one of these households was included in the sample. E.g. there were six brothers living in the programme village, each head of their own household. The six households had a very similar standard of living, size of family, and so on. Consequently, only one of these six households was included.

Within each household up to four members were interviewed with a total ratio of two women to one man. The main focus of the research was women's social change, but change in women's lives has to be seen in relation to change in men's lives, to be able to assess this change.

FIELD WORK

I spent a total of two months in the research area, during the months of March, April and May 1991. Two-thirds of the time was spent in the programme village, and only one-third in the control village because a lot of data was already available about households in the control village and no village informants interviews were conducted in this village.

Since I am a foreigner speaking rudimentary Bangla and I was assisted by a research assistant who made sure that I really understood what the villagers said and that the villagers understood what

I said.

The combination of a researcher and an assistant was ideal. As a foreigner everybody was very keen to talk to me and have me come to their house. The problem of villagers not wanting to cooperate was never encountered. The fact that the assistant was from the area and had also grown up in a village made communication very easy. The respondents were often all too happy to spend a whole morning telling their life story, giving their opinion on the issues asked after and questioning me about life at home.

Before leaving for the field I received very diverging advice concerning issues such as whether I should truthfully answer all questions about myself and my society, and whether I should admit to being associated to BRAC. Some thought that the 'truth' would jeopardize my supposedly necessary neutrality. People would perceive me as wanting certain answers and not others if I was not neutral.

Soon after arriving in the field I decided against hiding the facts. How could I expect my research subjects to be honest to me, if I was not honest to them. Besides this, pretending to be someone else would not necessarily mean neutrality. People would still perceive me as wanting some answers more than others.

DATA PROCESSING METHODS

The data processing method is a crucial aspect of this research, because, as mentioned earlier, social information is often harder to summarize than economic information.

In this research an attempt was made to find numerical indicators to measure social development dimensions. Examples include 'average marriage age', 'average amount of dowry presented/received'. However, the majority of the data were in origin less numerical in nature. For example the question "What are the reasons for villagers to think someone to be powerful" resulted in fourteen different groups of answers; "The person is rich", "The person is leader of the BRAC group", etc. In order to convert data of this type to numerical values, the answers have been categorised into the

three groups:

- socially developed
- traditional
- neutral

By splitting the data into these three categories, the percentage of 'socially developed' and 'traditional' answers could be calculated. Here I attempted to develop indicators in the range from 0 to 1, where zero means 'traditional' or not socially developed and 1 means fully 'socially developed'. I constructed the indicator by adding the incidence of 'socially developed' answers to half the incidence of 'neutral' answers. For instance, in the experimental village 30% of the women gave as a reason for someone being powerful considered an answer which was categorised as 'socially developed' and 3% an answer that was categorised as neutral, whereas in the control village only 22% of the women gave 'socially developed' answers and 2% neutral answers. To compare these two, each village was given a score calculated by 'incidence of socially developed' plus 'half the incidence of neutral'. If all the answers were traditional, the village would therefore score zero and if all the answers were 'socially developed' it would score 1.

Taking the example just mentioned, about a reason for someone being considered powerful, the score

$$\text{was for the experimental village} \quad 0.30 + \left(\frac{0.03}{2} \right) = 0.32$$

$$\text{and was for the control village} \quad 0.22 + \left(\frac{0.02}{2} \right) = 0.23$$

By this means the results of one village can be compared to the results of another. The construction of these indicators is based on my perception of what BRAC is trying to achieve.

All non-numerical data were transformed into numerical indicators with a range from 0 to 1 through one of the following approaches:

- 1) Answers are split into 'socially-developed', neutral and traditional and the score was:
(1 x incidence of 'socially-developed' answers) + (1/2 x incidence of neutral answers)
(as in the example above)
- 2) A cut-off point was defined below which there was no score, or above which there was no

score. E.g. when scoring legal awareness concerning a woman's minimum legal marriage age, those who gave an answer that was more than 2 years below the right answer, scored zero.¹⁹

- 3) A score distribution was defined. This was also applied to score legal awareness concerning women's minimum legal marriage age. The closer the answer was to the right answer, the higher the score. When someone answered two years below the right answer, they were given 1/3 of a full score whereas when someone's answer was only 1 year below the right answer, they were given 2/3 of a full score.
- 4) The score was inversely related to the average numerical answer. For example, for scoring people's ideal number of children, the score was calculated according to the following formula:

$$1 - \left(\frac{\text{average ideal no. of children} - 2}{2} \right)$$

This means that if, on average, the ideal number of children is mentioned to be two, a full score is obtained, whereas if the ideal number of children is mentioned to be four, on average, the score will be zero. In this case it is possible to score above the "full score", if the ideal number of children is mentioned to be 1. Then the score will be 1.5. Equally a negative score is possible, if the average answers on ideal number of children is over 4.

Another example of an indicator constructed in such a way is the score allocated to what respondents on average regard to be the ideal age gap between husband and wife, described in the section on the development dimension 'MARRIAGE AGE'.

This score was constructed according to the following formula:

$$\left(\frac{15 - \text{average age gap}}{15} \right)$$

This formula implies that if the average age gap mentioned is zero, then a full score is obtained, whereas if the average age gap is 15 years, the score is zero.

- 5) The score is inversely related to the incidence of an answer in the affirmative. E.g. for

¹⁹ The reason why an organisation such as BRAC wants people to be aware of the minimum legal age for marriage for girls is to reduce the numbers of girls marrying very young. If people think 15 years or even younger to be the minimum legal marriage age for girls, then such incorrect knowledge has the same effects as not knowing that there is a minimum age.

the question "would you marry your daughter off more quickly if she got raped" the scoring is 1 minus incidence of a "YES"-answer.

The validity of the findings strongly depends on the reliability of the respondents' answers. Of course, with subjective questions that cannot be verified, there is a danger that the respondents' answers may not be genuine and the researcher would not realize. For instance, the interviewees might want to please the interviewer with their answers. Due to the fact that I was a complete outsider and avoided putting my own opinions across, the villagers could only have suspicions about what type of answers would please me. (When I was asked questions I did answer honestly, but I avoided imposing my views on the issues I interviewed people about). Most of my findings were discussed every evening with the field staff of the Jhikargacha Area Office and comparisons were made with their expectations of what people would answer, based on their extensive experience.

However, as noted above, I was certainly biased by my contact with BRAC and by my own outlook on life and this may have unintentionally biased my findings.

This chapter mainly describes what I learned and found in 'the field', in the spring and summer of 1991. Because I looked at so many development dimensions, the only organised way of presenting the data is to discuss each development dimension in a separate section.

PRESENTATION OF THE FINDINGS

The Appendix A contains tables I to LXIII which present the crude numeric outcome of the questionnaires. In many instances, the information has been transformed in a more accessible form through figures which are included in the text. Wherever necessary, references to the relevant tables, which can be found in the Appendix A, are made in each section.

In most sections qualitative and quantitative indicators have been used next to each other.

The idea of these development dimensions came for the greater part from other people (see page 32) but the way of measuring is, practically, all mine.

In this chapter each section discussing a development dimension consists of a descriptive part and a part in which the two villages are quantitatively assessed. Since it is doubtful to what extent the control village and experimental village can be compared (see section 'Study villages', page 29), the quantitative assessment cannot be the basis for drawing any firm conclusions concerning BRAC's programme impact. Instead, the quantitative assessment serves as an example of how numerical indicators can be constructed and used and how they can be given different weights.

BIAS OF THE RESEARCH

The construction of the indicators as presented here is indeed heavily dependent on my judgement. My judgement will have been strongly influenced by BRAC's philosophy and of course by Western culture in which I grew up.

For the construction of the type of numerical indicators presented here, one needs to continuously make choices about what is to be considered desirable and important. These choices are inevitably value judgements. However, at least the bias is the same for both villages.

Ideally, if some of the method proposed in this thesis is to be used by an NGO for evaluation of their programme impact, this NGO itself should specify these choices and weights.

The scope of this research is, however, to illustrate how various numerical indicators can be constructed, once these choices have been made by the organisation asking for the evaluation.

Within the text it has been made explicit as much as possible which choices were made so that potential users of the methods can decide for themselves if they agree with the choice or if they want to adjust the choice. The underlying reasons and value-judgements for my choices have not been detailed because this information will not improve the use of the method. For example, in the text it is stated clearly that mentioning fifteen to be the legal minimum marriage age for a woman is here chosen as the cut-off point and this answer is not allocated any score. Anyone who disagrees with 15 to be the cut-off point, but wants to use the proposed method, can adjust the cut-off point to their own values. It is not enhancing to this potential user why I have used 15 as the cut-off point rather than 12 or 18.

Another bias that is present in this research is that of the sample of households, and household members within these, that was used. In the previous chapter, it was described how the sample was chosen. This choice was partly the result of my preferences, or my value judgement, and partly based on the choice for the landless of BRAC, besides more practical considerations such as willingness of people to cooperate.

Since this bias was repeated in both the research villages, it does not undermine the research method that is proposed here. The argument given above for the choice, scoring and weighting of the indicators also applies to the sample chosen. If the research methodology proposed here were to be used for an evaluation, then the organisation requesting for the evaluation should define the sample

composition based on choices they have made as an organisation.

BRAC IMPACT VERSUS OTHER EXTERNAL INFLUENCES

Distinguishing BRAC influence from other external influences on the village is crucial to the validity of the findings. However, every village is subject to numerous other external influences such as government programmes (BRDB), information and money from emigrated family members, the media and so on. To analyse the impact of these influences should ideally be an integral part of evaluating programme impact. However, even though it is necessary to take these influences into account, it will remain very difficult, and in cases impossible, to distinguish which changes are due to the programme impact and which are due to other influences. In addition, programme impact and the other influences will interact and will build on each other's achievements. Often changes can be due to a variety of influences which exist simultaneously. This aspect of the research methodology will remain a weak point, which will not be overcome by taking on additional fields of investigations concerning other external influences.

SAMPLE SIZE

It can be noticed that from table to table the sample size varies. For instance, the respondent for the awareness question were only 34 women in the experimental village, whereas for the schooling question 67 women in the experimental village were recorded. This difference is due to all the women members of the interviewed households being recorded for factual questions, whereas for questions that concerned opinions, only the women who were themselves interviewed are recorded. Some other discrepancies are due to the fact that I was not able to read back what was filled out by myself or my research assistant on the questionnaires.

DEVELOPMENT DIMENSIONS' NATURE: STRATEGIC, PRACTICAL, GENDER, GENERAL

It is useful to realize which of the development dimensions cover gender needs and which do not, and which concern practical and which strategic needs. Table 1 below shows which development dimensions

concern which aspect(s).

TABLE 1

DIMENSIONS OF DEVELOPMENT COVERED BY THE SURVEY, CLASSED ACCORDING TO THEIR ROLE IN MEETING PRACTICAL AND STRATEGIC, GENDER AND NON-GENDER NEEDS

	practical needs	strategic needs	practical gender needs	strategic gender needs
AWARENESS		X		X
LITERACY AND NUMERACY	X	X	X	X
INTER-HH CONFLICTS		X		
INTRA-HH CONFLICTS				X
CONCEPT OF POWER		X		X
DECISION MAKING			X	X
FAMILY PLANNING			X	X
MARRIAGE AGE				X
CHILD BEARING			X	X
DIVORCE			X	X
POLYGAMY			X	X
DOWRY			X	X
PURDAH			X	X
ATTITUDE TO SEXUAL VIOLENCE			X	X
BOY PREFERENCE				X
WIFE BATTERING			X	X

From the Table 1 it becomes clear that the choice of development dimensions is biased towards gender needs in general, and especially towards strategic gender needs.

When deciding on the weight to be given to the various development dimensions two aspects were considered. First, each study area was assessed on its comparative importance in terms of social and gender needs. Those study areas that are considered to be of key importance deserve more weight than those that are not. Secondly, the reliability of the data was considered. To illustrate whether the development dimension is more, or less important or whether it is more, or less conclusive, each has been given an importance-level and a conclusiveness-level ranging from 1 to 3 -- 1 indicating least important or least conclusive, 3 indicating most important or most conclusive.

THE RESEARCH AREA

Both the research villages were villages in the upazila of Jessore (see maps attached after the

bibliography on page 193), the next but one most south-westerly zila of Bangladesh, which borders onto India. In fact, Jessore town and Calcutta are only some 200 kilometres distance from each other and they used to be connected by a railway line before the partitioning from India in 1947.

One of the reasons why it was proposed for the research to take place in Jessore was that the Bangla spoken there is more or less the standard Bangla, which would improve my communication possibilities with the villagers. Jessore is also an area known to be liberal by Bangladesh standards and women consequently have a higher degree of freedom which would make it easier for me to operate.

The BRAC programme village that was chosen is called Gadkhali, a village which lies right next to the road connecting Jessore town with one of the two open overland border-posts with India. Gadkhali itself has a small market. Jhikargacha is a larger market place on the same road, ten minutes by bus away from Gadkhali on the way to Jessore town which is at a 40-minute bus-journey distance from Gadkhali. From Gadkhali to the border is a 30-minutes bus journey. Buses go as regular as every five minutes between Jessore town and the border. Due to the village's proximity to India, it is said that several villagers earn some income from smuggling.

Originally, the village of Gadkhali had been a Hindu village. With the partitioning from India, many of the Hindu villagers sold their land to Muslims and left for India or they swapped their land with Muslims emigrating from India. When the research was conducted only about 10% of the population was Hindu which is also the total percentage of Hindus in Bangladesh. The fact that a lot of land was sold relatively recently was a reason mentioned why the households have, on average, quite a lot of land by Bangladesh standards. Additionally, Gadkhali has rather fertile soils and could be regarded as richer than a typical Bangladeshi village. Gadkhali is also a remarkably small village with only 81 households. It has three ponds for washing clothes and bathing and one fish-farming pond that was on the outskirts of the village. This fish-farming pond is managed collectively by the male and female BRAC groups.

The control village is called Hatpur. This village is situated a 10-minute walk south of Monirampur, which is a market place somewhat bigger than Jhikargacha. Monirampur lies to the south-east of

Jessore town. The two are connected by regular buses which take about 45 minutes. Monirampur is quite a large village having three times more households than Gatkali. As in Gatkali, in Monirampur about 10% of the households are Hindu. However, nearly all of these are living in one compound which could be described as a village within the village. The households from this Hindu compound are all extremely poor, none of them owning land. They somehow made a living as labourers. Several men had traditional religious professions, one being a yogi looking after one white cow, others being musicians. To be able to perform their religious rituals, this compound was permitted to legally grow ganja (=marihuana) for their own consumption and it was indeed consumed.

As for the rest of the village, like Gatkali, Hatpur is richer than the average Bangladeshi village. There were even several very wealthy households living in large brick houses. In this village there was a high land-person ratio, similar to Gatkali. Taking into account that the Hindu compound possessed no land, the remaining Muslims had on average good portions of land. As well, the land was reasonably fertile, similar to Gatkali. Because Hatpur was a large village, the village unity was much less than in Gatkali. For instance, some villagers did not know other villagers' names. In Gatkali, on the contrary, everybody knew everybody, and everything that was going on.

AWARENESS

Introduction

One needs to be aware of one's situation before one can be capable of doing something about it, of changing the situation. Awareness of the world outside, of the law, of politics and health care are important for becoming aware of one's own situation and for empowerment. This is why this development dimension has been included in this study.

AWARENESS was included as a development dimension because it is informative about empowerment both of the poor and of women compared to men. AWARENESS as a development dimension therefore essentially concerns strategic needs and when the data obtained for men and women are compared it is a development dimension for strategic gender needs.

Findings

For political awareness, respondents were asked to name the old president's name, his party's name, and the names of the two largest parties. From Table I, which is found in Appendix A, it is evident that when it comes to politics women know considerably less than men without there being a noticeable difference between the control and programme village. On the other hand, in the field of health care women know more than men with the programme village having a near 100% of the interviewed women knowing how to make oral saline for preventing dehydration from diarrhoea (see footnote on oral rehydration pg. 16) and only 70% in the control village. (See Figure 1, below.)

Another question that was asked was "What do you think is the minimum legal age for boys and girls to get married?" The results are presented in Table II. (See Appendix A.) The legal marriage age for girls is 18 and for boys is 21 years. To this question the majority of the interviewees answered that they did not know that there was a minimum legal age for marriage. In the experimental village 30 out of 45 respondents said that they did not know about this law and 34 out of 44 in the control village, indicating that the control village is slightly more ignorant on this matter. (See Table II, Appendix A.)

Of those who responded to the question, 7 out of 15 respondents knew this exact age for girls in the experimental village and 2 out of 10 knew it in the control village. The respondents who know about a legal minimum marriage age in both study areas had indeed some idea of the minimum legal age for marriage of girls, as only two of these in the control village mentioned less than 16 years as the minimum legal age for a girl's marriage. The average age they mentioned in the experimental village was 18.66²⁰ years and 18.29²⁰ years in the control.²⁰ (See Table II, Appendix A.)

The legal marriage age for boys the villagers thought to be much higher, with an average of 25.05²⁰ mentioned in the programme village and 25.64²⁰ in the control village. Nobody knew that it really was 21. (See Table II, Appendix A.)

²⁰ These are purely calculated averages which makes it possible to compare results from different villages. In reality the answers obtained for the question from individuals were all round figures, as is clear from Table II.

Conclusion

To collect data regarding the level of AWARENESS, six questions were asked, three concerning political awareness, one concerning health and two concerning the law. These fields of awareness had been chosen because they were considered to represent gender influenced knowledge fields: politics as typical of men's fields of knowledge, health as typical women's field of knowledge and the question asked about the law (what the legal marriage age for men and women is) is used as a proxy for people's awareness about women's rights.

The method of researching the level of awareness was optimally conclusive, because respondents were unlikely to pretend to know less than they actually knew and it is impossible for a respondent to pretend to know more. This is why this development dimension has been given the highest level, level 3, of conclusiveness. Increasing the level of awareness, in particular when addressing strategic needs, is very important. Therefore awareness has been given level 3 importance.

Although it might for instance appear simplistic to consider someone who knows the name of the president as someone who is politically aware, there is no indication that those who are politically ignorant would still know the president's name. Unfortunately, for this development dimension no qualitative cross-check was available. Another risk with the method of researching awareness as presented here, is that word would get around about the questions and answers and people might learn the answers by heart and the interview would become a type of quizzing session without being informative on people's awareness. This risk might especially exist in evaluations with large samples. Therefore, AWARENESS as a development dimension is not suitable for evaluations with large samples.

Otherwise, AWARENESS should be considered a useful area to investigate when assessing social development. It was relatively quick and easy to collect the necessary data and it was fairly straightforward to express the results in numerical form. It would be possible to replicate the indicators used here for researching AWARENESS in other locations without really even having to change the questions.

Numerical construction of indicator

The desirable state of social development is to have full awareness, so a 100% score is given if all respondents know all the answers to the questions asked. Each category of knowledge (politics, health and the law) has been given equal weight. Question 1, 2 and 3 were all about political knowledge, so the average score of the three has been taken and been given the same weight as question 4 on its own and 5 and 6 combined.

When considering empowerment in general, one investigates whether awareness has increased, but when considering empowerment of women, one investigates whether women's awareness has caught up with men's. When giving a total assessment of the villages, empowerment and empowerment of women are given equal weight, so the average between these two is calculated. (See page 53 Table SCORES ON AWARENESS.)

When assessing empowerment a full score is allotted when all respondents know all the answers to the questions posed. The data for men and women have been combined here, to obtain one score. This score was arrived at by adding the total right answers by men to that by women and dividing by total number of male and female respondents. When assessing women's emancipation a full score is allotted when women's propensity to know the right answer is the same as men's. E.g. a score of 0.6 on women's empowerment means that women were only 60% as likely to know the right answer as men. (See Table 'SCORES ON AWARENESS' pg. 53)

Answers to the question "What do respondents think is the legal age of marriage" are more complicated to process.

In case of the legal marriage age for women, which is 18, people who answer: "I don't know" have, obviously, no awareness in this field and this answer should be given a score of 0. People whose answer is below the legal age are obviously less aware or not fully aware. But when the answer is only one year off (17 years old) it is a much more desirable answer than when they answer "14 years old". I decided that 15 years should be the cut-off point and answers of 15 years and below have

been equated to "I don't know" and have been given a zero-score, "16 years old" has been given a 0.33 score and "17 years old" has been given a 0.67 score. Still more complicated is to assess answers of over 18 years old. As such, BRAC would consider it a desirable social change for women to get married as late as possible. Therefore, it could be seen as a desirable answer if people think of women's legal marriage age to be more than 18, but such an answer is not indicative of awareness. An answer of over 18 is much to be preferred to an answer of under 18. So for every year mentioned more than 18, 0.1 has been taken off the full score 1.

Scores for answers to the question "What is the minimum legal marriage age for women?"

Answer	Don't know	<15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27
Score	0	0	.33	.67	1	.9	.8	.7	.6	.5	.4	.3	.2	.1

When it comes to answers to the question: "What is the legal marriage age for men" a right answer, 21 years old is a full score and a "Don't know answer" is a zero-score, as it was under women's marriage age. When people underestimate this age for men this is not considered as dramatically wrong as it was when concerning women's marriage age. The reasons why an organisation such as DRAC supports that there is a minimum legal marriage age is because it is thought to stop the custom of child brides, it will help control the population (the older women are to start at having babies the fewer total number of children they will get) and the age gap between men and women will be reduced which will improve women's chances of being equal to men within the household. Therefore, overestimating the legal marriage age of men can be considered as less desirable than people underestimating this age. If respondents' answer is one year more (22) I gave it a .67 score and if respondents' answer is 2 years more I gave it a .33 score. When the age is underestimated, the scoring steps chosen were smaller, .9 for 20 years, .8 for 19 years and .7 for 18 years. Other answers get a zero-score.

Score for answers to question "What is the minimum legal marriage age for men?"

Answer	Don't know	18	19	20	21	22	23	>24
Score	0	.7	.8	.9	1	.67	.33	0

SCORES ON AWARENESS

	EMPOWERMENT		WOMEN'S EMPOWERMENT		TOTAL	
	exp.	contr.	exp.	contr.	exp.	contr.
Q.1 (name of old president)	.704	.682	.727	.610	.716	.646
Q.2 (his party's name)	.463	.500	.392	.467	.428	.484
Q.3 (two big parties' names)	.537	.523	.549	.359	.543	.441
Q.1+2+3 (average political awareness)	.568	.568	.556	.479	.562	.524
Q.4 (how to make oral saline)	.944	.705	1.078	.980	1.011	.842
Q.5+6 (average legal marriage age)	.210	.127	.618	.527	.414	.327
Weighted Scores	<u>.574</u>	<u>.467</u>	<u>.751</u>	<u>.662</u>	<u>.662</u>	<u>.564</u>

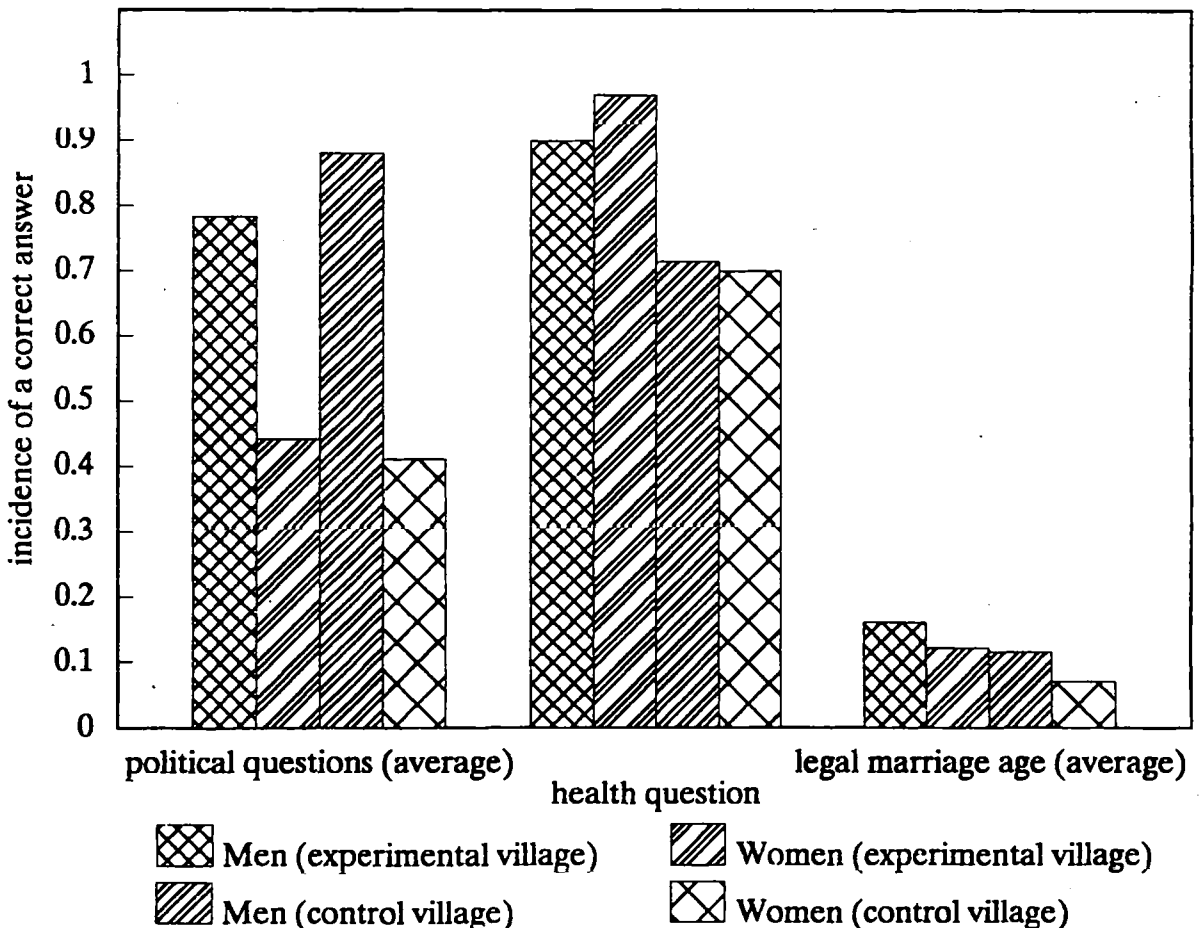
The total scoring of each question is the average of the 'empowerment' and the 'women's empowerment' score, as was explained on page 52.

The score allotted in the final assessment of the two villages is the average of these results of all questions. How these scores were derived is described on pages 51 and 52.

These scores are visualised in the Figure 1.

Figure 1.

SCORES ON AWARENESS



Introduction

For a person, whether woman or man, it is a great asset to be able to read and write and make calculations. It enables a person to have more control over their own life rather than having to rely on others when reading medicine instructions, or calculating wages, for instance.

Even today, fewer girls attend school than boys in Bangladesh. This has caused women's literacy rate to be much lower than men's. Many women have to rely on male relatives when it comes to reading and calculating.

If women's literacy rate, or schooling level, is closer to men's, women are more equal. The literacy and numeracy development dimension has been included in this study to assess how much women lag behind men in terms of education through which the level of social development in terms of education is assessed.

LITERACY AND NUMERACY is a development dimension which concerns both practical and strategic needs because they are skills as such but they are also tools necessary for changing the system that oppresses the poor. When data for men and women are compared it also is a development dimension about gender needs.

BRAC's literacy programme

One of the first issues that BRAC addressed, already in the 1970s, was illiteracy (Chen, 1986). At first, the approach was to run adult literacy classes, especially for women. Even though enthusiasm for these classes was high, the actual effect was disappointing. It was concluded that it is very difficult to acquire literacy skills at an older age (Chen 1986). Therefore the approach was shifted to address children who were not going to school and early school drop-outs. BRAC's assumption is that if by the age of 8 a child has not yet started going to school, then it will almost certainly

never go to school. For these children aged 8, 9, 10 or 11 BRAC runs the 'non-formal primary education' programme (NFPE). In this programme, an untrained teacher, usually a woman from the village itself, will run a school in the village for only 2 hours a day. The teacher is paid a basic salary. The parents have to contribute by building and maintaining the 'kaca' (=non-permanent) school structure. The two-year curriculum of the non-formal education programme-schools is both designed to be useful to village children as such, as well as that it makes it possible for pupils to carry on and enter into the state-run schools in class II.

For adults, BRAC now concentrates on promoting that all group members learn and practice to write at least their name.

Methodology

To research the development dimension LITERACY AND NUMERACY, all sample households' members' schooling has been taken into account. Furthermore, every interviewee was asked to do a literacy and numeracy test designed by myself. The rate of children not going to school at all and the relationship between parents' schooling and their children going to school was also investigated.

Schooling

From Table VIII (Appendix A) one learns that 38% of the sample households of sample families were completely without schooling. (No children under the age of 7 were considered). There is quite a lot of variation between the different groups within the sample. First, lack of schooling is far higher than that in the experimental village. In both villages women without any schooling are far more common than men without any schooling. This is particularly so in the control village where 60% of the women had never attended school and only 38.3% of the men.

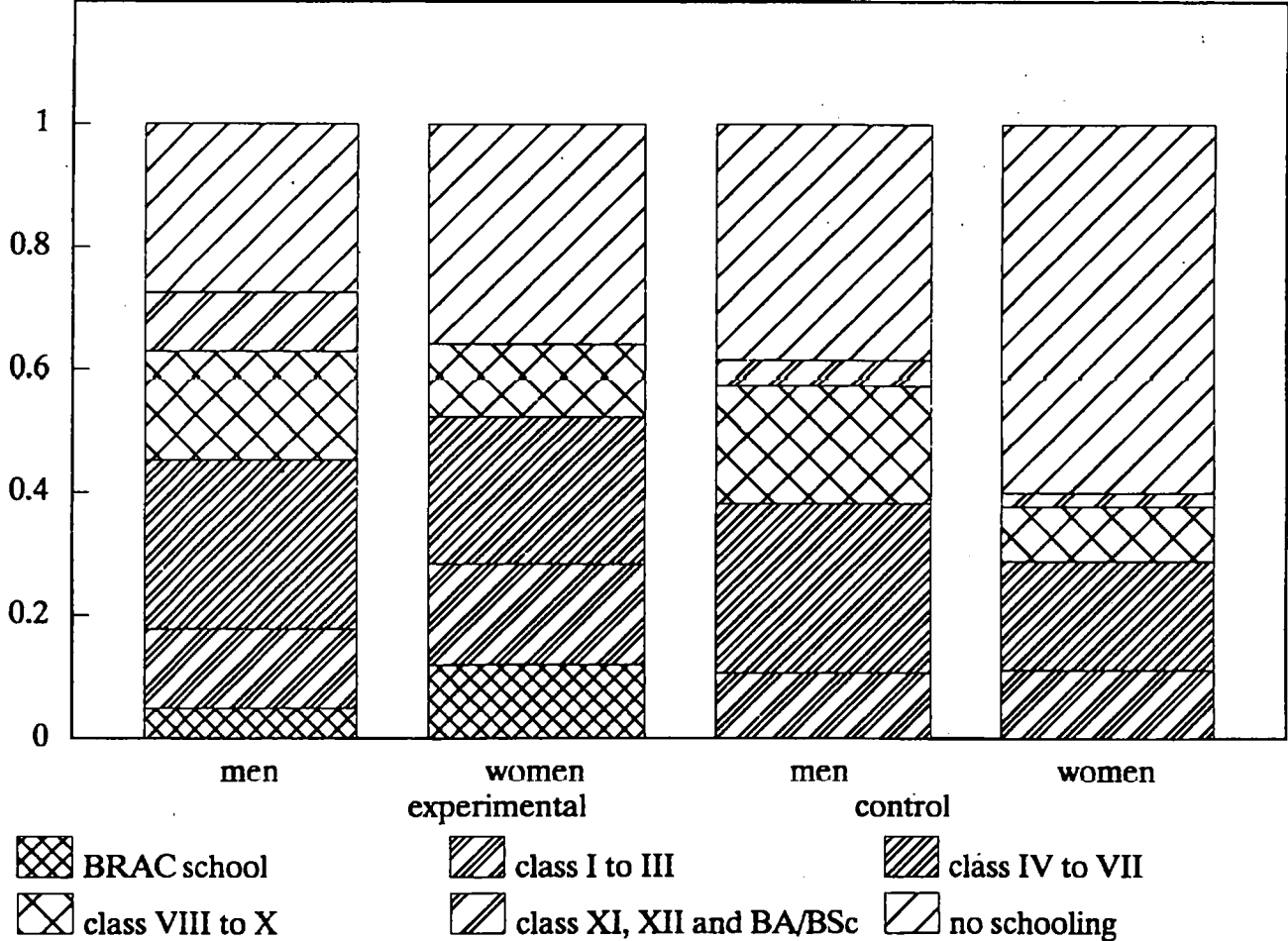
In most other studies examining similar indicators as here, results show that there are more women entirely illiterate than men. Beside this, girls tend to drop out of school at an earlier stage than boys.

Table VIII (Appendix A) shows that in this sample, when taking groups of three classes, in the first three groups (or up to Class IX) there is no lower incidence of girls completing up to these classes than boys in the programme village. Only when Class X²¹ and upwards are considered girls/women are significantly more absent, with seven times more boys/men having completed these classes. In fact, in the programme village no woman had studied beyond Class X.

In the control village the pattern is different. Only in the first group, or the first three classes, men and women's incidence is the same. Immediately after that, girls/women start lagging behind and the higher the grade the more they lag behind men. The pattern of the control village rather than the experimental village is common over the whole of rural Bangladesh.. (See Figure 2.)

Figure 2.

schooling levels of all members of interviewed households



phenomenon but has always existed and has not changed remarkably over the last six (BRAC

²¹ After completing Class X, students sit their SSC or Matriculation-examination, after Class XII students sit their HSC or Intermediate-examination. Both examinations are set by the Central Government and are standard for the whole country.

intervention) years. Therefore, these data become irrelevant for programme assessment, because it is not a situation that can be attributed to the programme run by BRAC.

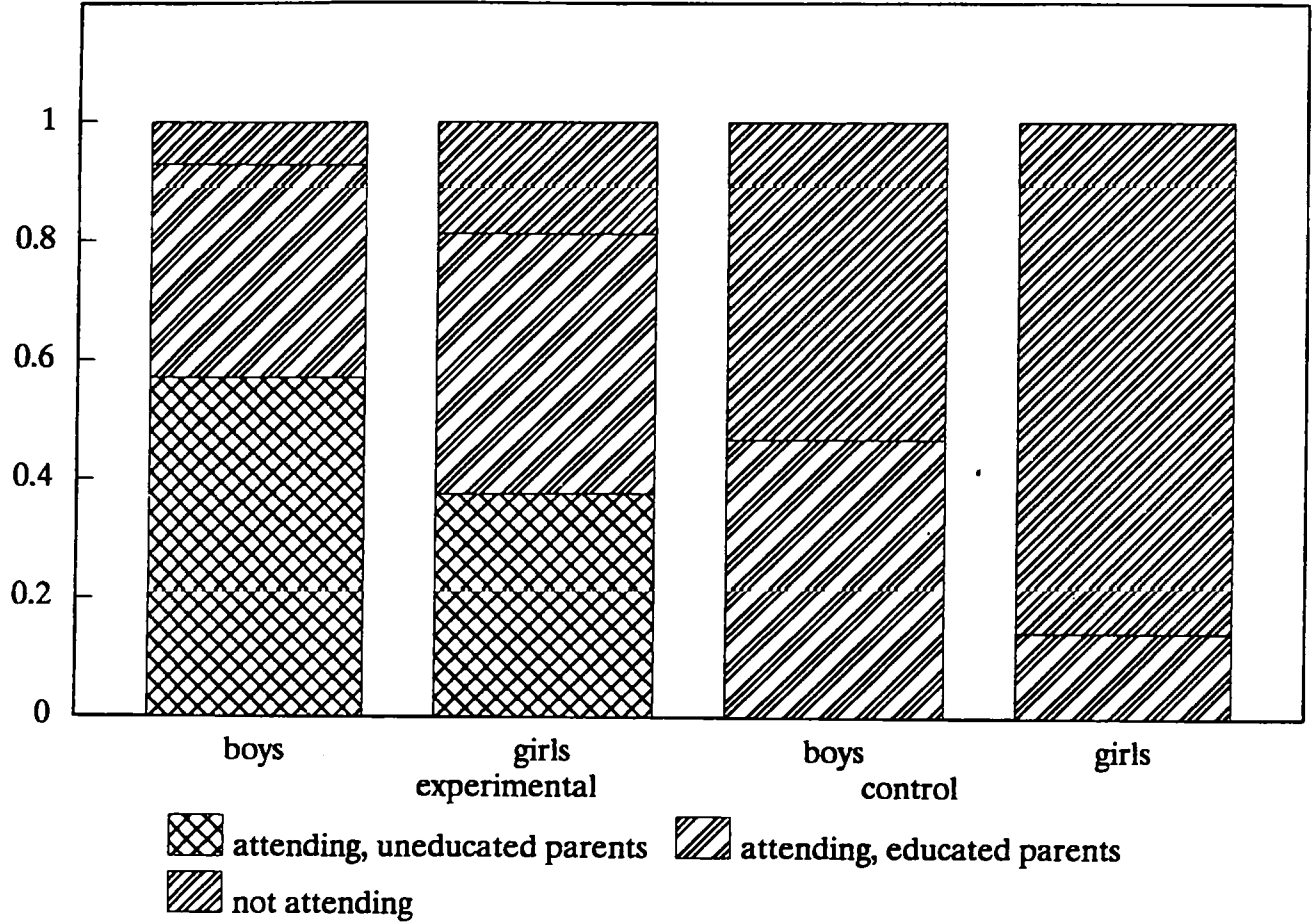
On the other hand, the current school-going rate presented in Table III, Appendix A, especially as compared to the parents' schooling, might well be attributable to BRAC.

The school going rate in the programme village is 26 out of 30 amongst children aged 15 and under, meaning a 87% school-going rate. In the control village only 9 out of 29 (31%) in that age bracket go to school (31%). In the programme village more than half (14 out of 26) of the children going to school come from families where the parents received education only up to class II or less. None of the children from the control village who go to school have parents with so little education.

For assessing programme impact, the information on level of schooling of the sample household members only serves for comparison. If the incidence of children of uneducated parents going to school goes up, this might be attributable to programme impact. (See Figure 3.)

Figure 3.

school enrolment of children younger than 15



Practical Skills Attained

Beside asking the respondents up to what class they had studied, they were asked to show their actual numeracy and literacy skills.

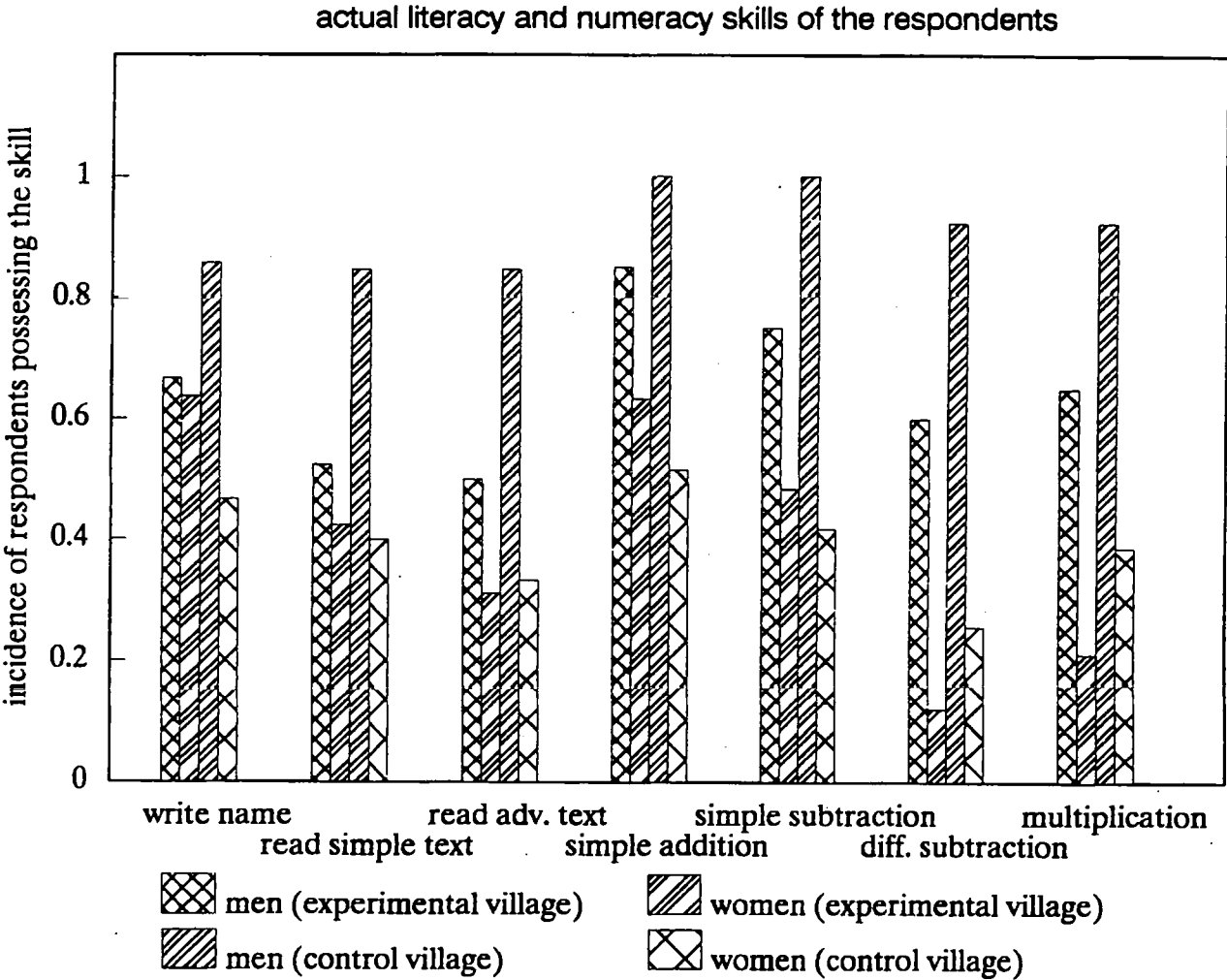
For villagers it is very useful to be able to write their name, because then they can sign documents. As well, it gives them dignity. One group-member, after having completed the strenuous work of forming the odd shapes necessary to write FATIMA, said that she was a 'real' person now that she can write her name.

Tables IV, V, VI and VII (Appendix A) present the actual literacy and numeracy of the respondents. Table VIII (Appendix A) shows that 64% of the women have attended or attend school compared to 73% of the men. In Table VI and VII (Appendix A) it is clear that women in actual skills lag far more

behind, for example men are five times more likely to be able to do a 'more difficult subtraction' than women.

One will have to conclude that women are more likely to forget what they have learned in school. Men, when going to the 'bazar' have plenty of opportunities to practice their school knowledge while women with their low exposure to the outside world have not. (See Figure 4.)

Figure 4.



Conclusion

The effectiveness of BRAC's programme (ensuring that those of school-going age go to school and teaching adults to write their name) can be conclusively researched. Therefore, this development dimension was given level 3 for conclusiveness. Literacy and numeracy is an important development dimension when addressing strategic needs. To have access to written information and be able to communicate in writing it vastly empowers a person. Therefore, it has been given an importance-level

Beside this, it was quick and easy to collect the necessary data for the two indicators (writing name and school attendance for under 15 years old). It was also fairly straightforward to express the results in numerical form. It would be possible to replicate the indicators used here for researching LITERACY AND NUMERACY without having to change the questions. Consequently, LITERACY AND NUMERACY is a useful area to investigate when assessing social development.

Numerical construction of the indicator

In the light of BRAC's intervention programme, LITERACY AND NUMERACY as a development dimension is assessed through the incidence of those attending school whose parents did not attend school, beside the incidence of people being able to write their name.

The score allotted to each village is derived from the average of the following three indicators: (i) the incidence of people being able to write their name, (ii) the incidence of under 15 year olds going to school and (iii) the incidence of those attending school, whose parents did not attend school beyond Class II. The incidence of people being able to write their name (men and women combined) was 65% in the experimental village and 59% in the control village. The incidence of under 15 year olds going to school in the experimental village was 87% and 31% in the control village. The incidence of those attending school while their parents did not was 14 out of 26, which is 54%, in experimental village and 0 in the control village. The overall average literacy and numeracy score is therefore 0.6844 for the experimental village and 0.300 for the control village. (See Table III and Table IV in Appendix A.)

INTER-HOUSEHOLD CONFLICTS

Introduction

In a village in rural Bangladesh a 'shalish' (village court) is held if people who have a conflict

cannot resolve this by themselves. A 'shalish' is usually peopled by the more well-to-do villagers. Therefore, the verdicts given by a 'shalish' could understandably be biased against the poor. Consequently, it is often the poor household that suffers most from conflicts between two or more households in a village. This is why a reduction in INTER-HOUSEHOLD CONFLICTS could possibly contribute to empowerment of the poor, which is why this has been included as a development dimension and the 'shalish' has been used as its indicator.

INTER-HOUSEHOLD CONFLICTS is a development dimension that was taken up to assess the empowerment of the poor, so this is a development dimension assessing strategic needs. This development dimension was researched by means of enquiring into the incidence and nature of 'shalish's.

The shalish

Robiul, one of the village informants, told us how in a village 'shalish' it is of vital importance to compromise. A solution must be found in which both parties can accept the verdict. Never should one party have to give in entirely or the other party be made to feel victorious.

We were able to witness Robiul, one of the village informants as appeaser when there was a small incident near a Hindu family's house. A large landowner had planted his field that bordered the Hindu family's homestead at least two yards onto their homestead. When Robiul came to resolve the conflict he said that both were at fault, the field owner for not consulting his papers where his land ended and the homestead owner for not having a fence. It was resolved that the homestead owner had to put a fence up and would then have the use of the planted crop. Really, the homestead owner was victorious in this dispute but because he also got a telling-off the landowner did not come out of the dispute with loss of face.

When Robiul from the programme village was asked when last a 'shalish' was held, he said that he could not recall any dispute having resulted in a 'shalish' during the last three years. Robiul claimed that this was due to him smoothing conflicts out as soon as they occur, so it does not get as far as a 'shalish'. Indeed, Robiul's intervening capacities were remarkable and it could well be

true that the absence of a 'shalish' for the last three years was due to him.

In the control village no village informants were interviewed. Therefore, nobody was asked when last a 'shalish' had been held. From Table IX (Appendix A) it becomes clear though that in the control village one case of a 'shalish' was reported by a respondent.

Conclusion

Although the incidence and nature of 'shalishs' could be researched, a conclusiveness level of 0 has been given, because the sample of one village being compared with one other village is far too small to draw any conclusions about incidence. Although the development dimension was considered very important to poor people's empowerment and would have been given an importance-level 2, this whole development dimension has not been considered in the assessment procedure because conclusiveness level of 0 implies the outcome is invalid.

The greatest drawback in this research of using the phenomenon 'shalish' as an indicator for inter-household conflicts was that the sample size of two villages was far too small. Beside this it became clear that the occurrence and therefore the incidence of 'shalish' was heavily dependent on the social skills of a few individuals. This makes the 'shalish' an impracticable indicator of INTER-HOUSEHOLD CONFLICTS. However important this development dimension is, it is not useful for investigating social development.

INTRA-HOUSEHOLD CONFLICTS

Introduction

In the literature on Asian joint family households it is often mentioned that this type of family

system can be very problematic to women. It is said to particularly cause strife and dispute between women. INTRA-HOUSEHOLD CONFLICTS has been included as a development dimension because its indicator resulting from the question "who did the respondents last have a row with" would provide a good picture of the level of emancipation of women compared to men. It was assumed that if women row more within the household and more with each other than men do, then this will reflect that their circumstances lead to more friction which is regarded as evidence of their disadvantaged existence.

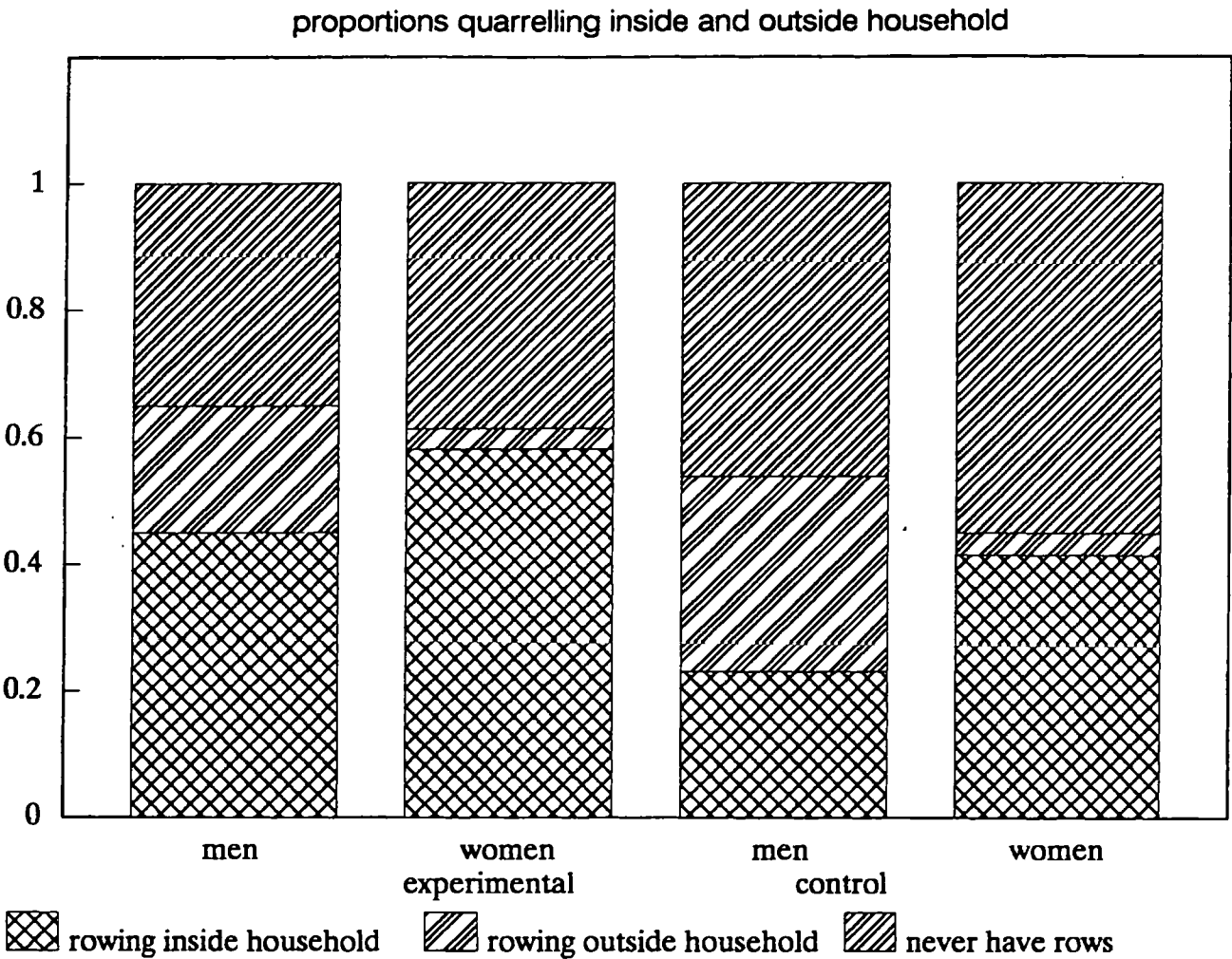
INTRA-HOUSEHOLD CONFLICTS is a development dimension concerning the intra-household dynamics, in particular assessing how unequal men-women relationships are within the household. This is therefore a development dimension concerning strategic gender needs.

Findings

Table IX (Appendix A) gives some information on whom people tend to have rows with most. Very remarkable is the fact that a lot of people answer that they never have rows (42%) without there being much variation amongst the different sections of respondents. Partly this answer can be explained in terms of people wanting to present themselves as good people and not wanting to admit to taking part in quarrels. Another way of explaining the high proportion of respondents in this question who claimed not to quarrel might be that when giving an interview the interviewee is seldom on her or his own and does not want the spectators to know what she/he has had fights about. The fact that respondents did not show embarrassment with any of the far more intimate questions, makes this explanation unlikely. In most cases it is probably true that the interviewee does not quarrel when this is the stated answer.

The vast majority of those respondents who did admit to quarrelling do so with "the family" or individual members of the family. However, there is a clear difference between men and women. Men are far more likely to quarrel outside the household than women. (See Figure 5.) This is to be expected from men, who spend most of their day outside the homestead, thus not having as much occasion as women do to fight with other family members.

Figure 5.



All the four wives of the two interviewed polygamous households mentioned that they had their last row with "the other wife".

Most of the rows people had within the family were "about work", secondly "about money".

In the sample, quarrels with neighbours were all about goats eating the neighbours' vegetables. In the 'bazar' most quarrels were concerning someone stealing something from a stall.

One woman explained to me that "poor people have family fights because they have to decide what to spend the money there is on, but there never is enough."

Conclusion

The villagers' capacity to solve INTRA-HOUSEHOLD CONFLICTS was researched through asking people whom they quarrelled with the last two times. The conclusiveness of this information is heavily dependent on whether the respondents were willing to inform the interviewer about their dispute behaviour. Additionally, any differences found in levels of quarrelling are not necessarily attributable to BRAC.

The fact that so many people answered that they never quarrelled at all leads to the conclusion that the information obtained was not very conclusive. Therefore, conclusiveness level 1 has been given.

The main drawback of using the indicator "Who did you quarrel last with?" for researching the development dimension of INTRA-HOUSEHOLD CONFLICTS is that the worth of the outcome is heavily dependent on whether the respondents give a truthful answer. From results accrued from other questions there is no reason to believe that the respondents are not giving a truthful picture of their dispute behaviour though. This leads to the conclusion that INTRA-HOUSEHOLD CONFLICTS is a useful development dimension if extra attention and care is given to whether it is reasonable to assume that respondents are comfortable enough with the interviewer to answer truthfully. If this condition is satisfied, then the indicators used here are sufficient to research this development dimension.

Numerical construction of the indicator

The development dimension of intra-household conflicts was used as a proxy for women's position in the household. It was argued that if women argue more within the household than men (especially amongst each other), this means that women are disadvantaged, the family system being problematic to them.

Therefore, especially in terms of women's empowerment, INTRA-HOUSEHOLD CONFLICTS is a useful development dimension. It is descriptive of women's level of assertiveness and their capacity to analyse the causes of their predicament and do something about it. An importance-level 3 has been given.

This development dimension was chosen to serve as a proxy for women's position in the household. If women need to argue more than men, they are disadvantaged as compared to men, it was argued. Therefore, the score allotted to each village in terms of intra-household conflict solving is calculated:

$$\left(\frac{\text{portion of men quarrelling inside HH of those quarrelling at all}}{\text{portion of women quarrelling inside HH of those quarrelling at all}} \right)$$

This was for the programme village $\left(\frac{0.692}{0.947} \right) = 0.73$

for the control village $\left(\frac{0.429}{0.923} \right) = 0.465$

(see Table IX, Appendix A)

THE CONCEPT OF POWER

Introduction

Power means, according to the Universal Dictionary of the English Language, "... Capacity to control, and to impose one's will; authority...". A key element in the empowerment of the poor is to change the poor's concept of power away from it strictly accruing from material wealth. Being powerful is not simply the result of concrete factors causing someone to be powerful, but power is part derived from a general consensus on who is powerful. If poor people start perceiving themselves as powerful then the power base of the traditionally powerful is already undermined. BRAC has as a central objective to empower the poor which they try to achieve by organising the poor in homogeneous groups. This is why THE CONCEPT OF POWER had been included as a development dimension.

To achieve empowerment of the poor it is essential to change the poor's concept of power. The CONCEPT OF POWER is therefore a development dimension concerning strategic needs. One part of it, questioning which women are powerful, gives information regarding strategic gender needs.

Reasons for people to be powerful

Traditionally, those who are powerful and who are accepted as powerful in the village are the same people as the rich and the landowners. NGOs in their programme aim to break through this traditional concept of power.²² In this section an attempt is made to assess changes in the villagers' concept of power.

Table X (Appendix A) lists what reasons villagers mentioned for considering someone powerful. By far the most commonly mentioned reason was "the person is rich" with no remarkable difference between the programme village and the control. In particular women respondents thought that powerful villagers were powerful due to being rich; 55% of the women in the experimental village gave this answer and 60% in the control village.

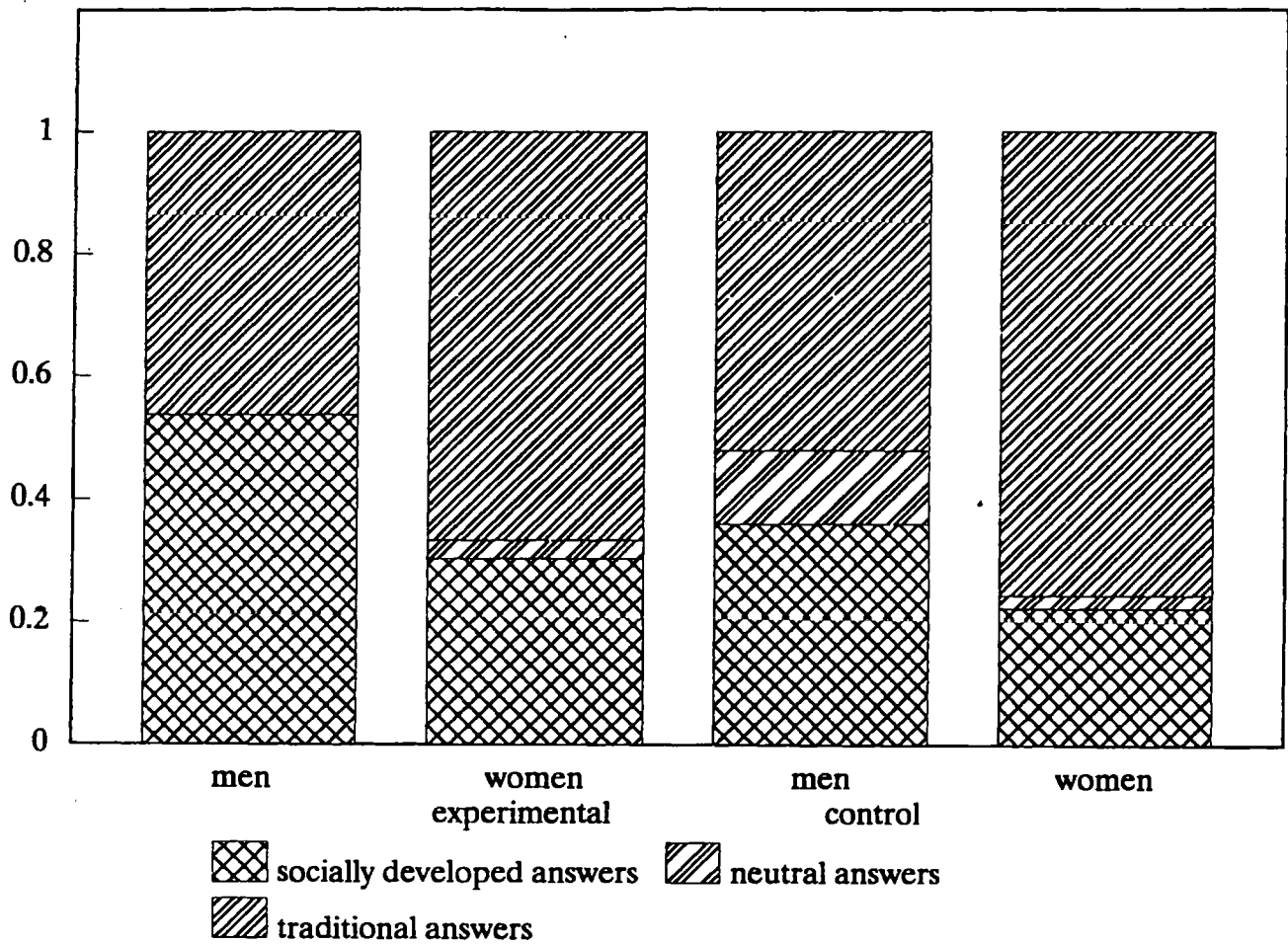
Other common answers were "the person chairs the 'shalish'/sits in the 'shalish'" and "he/she is a member". This is a kind of answer that should be considered 'socially developed', because the person is considered powerful for her/his capacity to resolve conflicts rather than her/his wealth. The answer "the person has lots of land" was also common. This answer was categorized as a traditional answer, together with "the person is rich" since the two are practically the same answer.

When those answers that are 'socially developed' are grouped together (as was done under Table X, Appendix A) then one finds that the experimental village gives more often desirable answers than the control village does. In both villages men's answers are more likely to fall under the 'socially developed' category than women's. (See Figure 6.)

²² See for instance Marty Chen's Annex C.1 to "Appraisal Report on BRAC", BRAC, 1988.

Figure 6.

proportions of types of answers for why people were thought powerful



What people are powerful

Of those who answered the question "Who is the most powerful person in your village?" (Table XI, Appendix A) in the experimental village two men were mentioned most frequently. Robiul, more commonly in the south of the experimental village, and Malek Saddar, most commonly in the north. In the northern part of the village some also mentioned Robiul though, while in the south nobody mentioned Malek Saddar implying that Robiul's power sphere must be larger.

To assess whether there is a difference between the way power was perceived, it will be useful to give a description of the two men most frequently mentioned as powerful in the experimental village.

Robiul was an inhabitant of the experimental village, aged about 35, married with quite a lot of children. By no means was Robiul the richest or even amongst the three richest people in the

village. His house, though made of bricks, was in a dilapidated state and essentially looked no different from other villagers' houses. He told us that his main income came from agriculture and secondly from business, quite similar to other fairly well-to-do households. What made Robiul such an unusual villager was his total commitment to village life. Despite the fact that he was far more educated than other villagers, and that he was a 'member'²³, he would happily spend his time with some of the poorest villagers, including Hindus. He would chair a 'shalish' if one was held and even chaired a 'shalish' that was held in a neighbouring village, although he was fairly young. His sense of justice was not biased against the poor.

The fact that Robiul is mentioned most often as powerful is an indication of change. In rural Bangladesh the powerful usually are the old, the rich, the landowners and the exploiters. Robiul is definitely not one of them.

Malek Saddar was quite a different type of person. Although also a pleasant young man, his heart was not with the poor but more with self-improvement. He was doing very well for himself with a large newly built two-storey brick house. The way he had gathered his wealth, he said, was through business, but he would never disclose what his business was. The experimental village is only at a 30 minute bus ride distance from the main border crossing with India. Word goes that the experimental village's area has as its main income source smuggling goods. The impressive wealth that Malek Saddar had collected at a young age despite not being a particularly large landowner makes it quite likely that Malek Saddar is involved in the lucrative activity of smuggling. Although Malek Saddar was, from a BRAC point of view, not the 'ideal' person to be considered powerful due to his lack of commitment with the villagers, he was not the traditional type of powerful person either. He did not have his power base in land or money lending but in wealth accrued from business outside the village. The nature of his business was probably such that he was not exploiting his co-villagers.

In the intervention village those considered powerful were not the traditional type of powerful.

²³ a 'member' is someone who has been elected to sit on the governing board or a 'milla' (an administrative unit larger than an 'upazila' the administrative smallest unit, which is usually bigger than the socially defined villages)

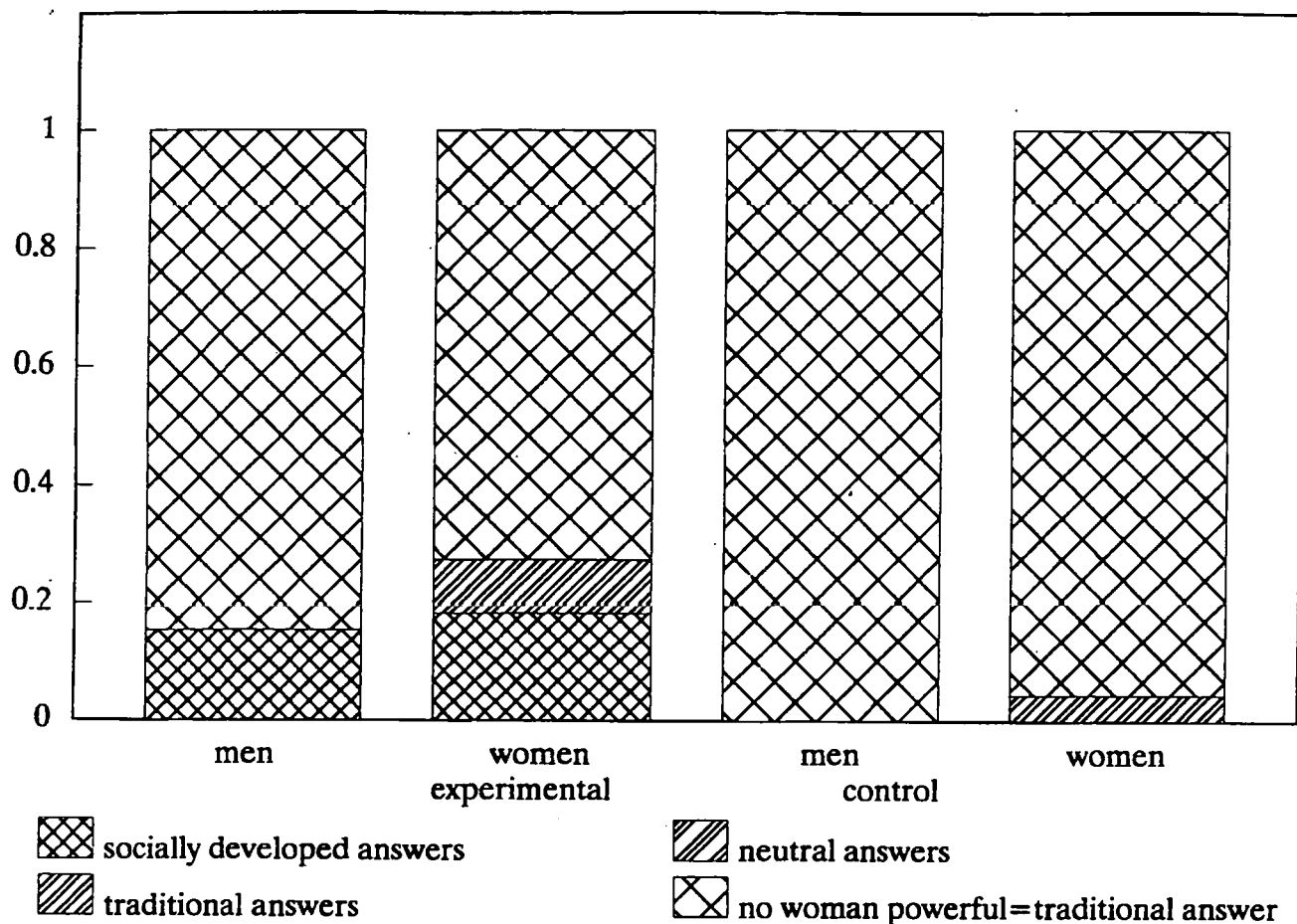
In the control village those 'nominated' as most powerful were not interviewed or even met. In this larger village it was not possible to build up the same level of familiarity, because a shorter time was spent in the village and the village was three times the size of the control village.

Powerful women

The most interesting results concerning this dimension came from the question "who is the most powerful woman in your village?" (Under the question "Who is the most powerful person in your village?" only men had been named.) Here, there was a remarkable difference between the answers in the experimental village and the control village. In the control village most interviewees answered this question by shrugging their shoulders and saying that they did not know, or that no woman was powerful. Only two respondents came up with a candidate but rather than mentioning her own name they called her "Akul's wife". When asked why Akul's wife was powerful, they both answered that that was because Akul was powerful. In the programme village, on the contrary, the respondents even had two competing women for the designation of 'most powerful', they were mentioned by their own name and nobody informed us what their husband's name was or whether he held a post, indicating that it was not a 'borrowed' power. Reasons the intervention village gave for her being powerful were 73% of the time answers that were grouped under 'socially developed', for instance "She does good work in the BRAC group", "she is clever", "she is the BRAC group leader". (See Table XII, Appendix A, and Figure 7.)

Figure 7.

proportions of types of answers for why women were powerful/
incidence of people mentioning women as powerful



Conclusion

By enquiring after who the respondent thought was most powerful and why they thought that, the villagers' CONCEPT OF POWER was researched. Villagers found it easy to answer this question and there is no reason for them to give untruthful answers. Therefore, this development dimension has been given a conclusiveness level of 3.

Because the villagers' concept of power forms such a central element in villagers' empowerment, the development dimension has been given an importance level of 3.

One might well object to the method used here to research the CONCEPT OF POWER as a development dimension because the idea behind the method was that it was socially developed to refute the ordinary concept of power. Some might argue that it should be considered a high level of awareness

if people see that power is being derived from wealth and that it is naive to think that this is not so. On the other hand, as was argued earlier, if the poor start to perceive themselves as powerful then the power base of the traditionally powerful will be undermined. In this research it is therefore considered beneficial to social development, for the poor to stop perceiving wealth as power. The data necessary for the indicators used in this section were reasonably easy to collect, it was easy to express the results in numerical form and the data were conclusive and informative. It would be straightforward to replicate the indicators when conducting another study. Therefore, THE CONCEPT OF POWER is a good development dimension when assessing social development.

Numerical construction of the indicator

Under Table X (Appendix A) the data on reasons why certain people were powerful was split into answers that were 'socially developed', answers that were 'traditional' and answers that were neither or 'neutral'. For instance, answers like "He/she speaks well/gives good advice" were categorised under "socially developed answers", whereas "He/she is rich" was categorised under "traditional".

In terms of empowerment of the poor, the percentage of answers that were 'socially developed' divided by 100 plus the percentage of neutral answers divided by 200 will be the score as was explained on pgs. 38 and 39. In terms of women's empowerment, the incidence of women giving a socially developed answer divided by the incidence of men giving such an answer will be the score. From the answers given to the question "Who is the most powerful woman in the village?" a score for women's empowerment only will be derived. The total score allotted will be the average of empowerment and women's empowerment score. The scores thus derived are presented on the next page in the table

SCORES ON CONCEPT OF POWER.

In Table XII (Appendix A) reasons why certain women were thought of as powerful are listed. Again, the data was split into those answers that were 'socially developed' and those that were not. The majority of the respondents answered that no women were powerful, which is also taken as a traditional answer. The result is considered an indicator on women's empowerment.

SCORES ON CONCEPT OF POWER

	empowerment		women's empowerment		average	
	exper.	control	exper.	control	exper.	control
Score resulting from reasons for men being powerful (Table X, Appendix A)	.380	.300	.563	.617	.472	.459 (weight 2)
incidence of people mentioning any woman as powerful (Table XII, Appendix A)	--	--	.239	.029	.239	.029 (weight 1)
Scores resulting from reasons for women being powerful (Table XII, Appendix A)	--	--	.174	.000	.174	.000 (weight 1)
Weighted score	.380	.300	.385	.316	.339	.237

(How these numbers were derived is explained on page 72.)

The score in terms of women's emancipation derived from the question "For what reason is the mentioned woman powerful?" was the average between what the incidence of people mentioning that women are powerful at all and the incidence of those people mentioning a 'socially developed' reason for these women to be powerful. The total scoring is derived by double weighting the score for "reasons for men being powerful" and single weighting both the score for "incidence of mentioning a woman as powerful" and "reasons for mentioning women as powerful".

The average weighted score on this development dimension is 0.339 for the programme village and 0.237 for the control village.

DECISION MAKING

Introduction

In their book "Village Women of Bangladesh, Prospects for Change" Taharunessa Abdullah and Sondra Zeidenstein mention that in Noakhali women are actively involved in the agricultural production even

though they do not work on the field. Women alone are responsible for the household's livestock that provide milk, meat and eggs (Abdullah and Zeidenstein, 1982). In the production of rice and other crops, women play an active part. In this book, it is reported that women do the seed selection and preservation for next season's crop. In general, the eldest woman in the family will take the decisions concerning when to plant and which seeds to plant which suggests that women have a certain level of control over the crops. Women are also in charge of the crop processing activities of rice parboiling, husking, etc. (Abdullah and Zeidenstein, 1982). The findings from this source on women's role in decision-making, contributed to me wanting to include 'decision making' as a development dimension in this research rather than only concentrating on the gender division of activities. By taking a decision about certain issues you have control over these issues.

It should be seen as desirable social change if women have an increasingly large role in household decisions through which they will have increasingly more control. This is why DECISION MAKING has been included as a development dimension assessing social change.

By determining the pattern of decision making, one can analyse women's level of power relative to men's. Having a say in household decisions is a commodity as such because it enables women to influence household decisions according to their best interest, thus enhancing their well-being. Women being able to influence household decisions is also a prerequisite for women being able to change the system. Therefore, the development dimension of DECISION MAKING concerns both practical and strategic gender needs.

Which decisions are taken by whom

Agriculture: All respondents were asked who in their household would take the decisions about crop planting pattern, livestock purchase and sale, and land purchase and sale. (The last one being labelled a man's domain by Abdullah and Zeidenstein.) This would enable me to compare the extent of women's say in the household decision formulation in the two study areas. In both the study areas we could observe that the post-harvest activities were being done by women.

From Table XIII (Appendix A) it becomes clear that in Jessore area, where both the research villages are, as opposed to Noakhali where Zeidenstein and Abdullah's research took place, most women do not decide upon the crop pattern. Only in one case in the experimental village do a husband and wife together decide upon the crop pattern, while in all other cases men take such a decision on their own unless there is no male adult available as in the case of the female-headed households.

In the case of the purchase of livestock, supposedly a woman's domain, the pattern is slightly different with 34% of women in the experimental village being at least decision makers alongside male household members, and 19% the sole decision makers. In the programme village on two occasions women were the sole decision makers despite the fact that men were available in the household (Table XIV, Appendix A).

When it comes to taking decisions concerning buying and selling land 74% of the time these decisions are only taken by male household members in the experimental village and 87% of the time in the control village. In none of the cases the land buying/selling decisions were taken by women on their own unless they were a female household head (Table XV, Appendix A).

Children: In rural Bangladesh children are the responsibility of women, but when it concerns the treatment of an ill child it again appears from the data that then men usually take over the decision making (in 71% of the cases in the experimental village and in 64% in the control village did men decide whether and how an ill child would be treated). In the experimental village only 13% of the time do women take the decision to take their ill child to the doctor on their own contrasted with 22% of the time in the control village (Table XVI, Appendix A). When the decisions concern the purchase of children's clothes the same pattern is evident; only in 14% of the cases in the experimental village are women at all involved in the decision making process concerning children's clothing and in 30% of the cases in the control village.

Family planning: The Table XVIII (Appendix A) presents some information about who decided upon taking family planning and who decided on the method of family planning. Not many data were collected because most people in the sample did not use any family planning.

It is ambiguous what would indicate a higher level of emancipation - men taking the decision or women. In the case of men taking the decision it might be argued that he imposes his will on his wife and this implies a low level of emancipation. It might alternatively be argued that using family planning is beneficial to women and men deciding to use family planning can then be seen as expressing concern for his wife and non-traditional thinking (by not insisting on a lot of off-spring). Probably what should be considered a token of emancipation would be that husband and wife together decide upon the matter. In the experimental village 27% of the couples who need family planning decide together and 61% in the control village. Men hardly ever decide upon the issue of family planning on their own in either study area.

When it comes to deciding upon a method of family planning, the incidence of husband and wife doing that together becomes less common. Women take the decision concerning this (Table XIX, Appendix A). From Table XX (Appendix A) it is clear that men do not make use of the family planning options available to them; no respondent said that they use condoms and only in the case of one polygamous household had the husband had a vasectomy done.

Conclusion

Because decision making is often a complicated process in which it is not entirely clear or straightforward who does take the final decision, it is likely, at least, more so than with the other dimension, that the answers obtained under these questions are biased according to what people think ought to be the person taking decisions. This is why a conclusiveness level of only 1 has been allotted.

In terms of women's emancipation in particular, who takes which decision is crucial. Reflecting this, decision making has been given an importance level of 3.

The main drawback of the indicators used to explore the development dimension DECISION MAKING was that it was difficult to express the various answers in a numerical form. Furthermore, the worth of the outcome depended on the capacity of the person answering to truthfully summarize what might be a

complicated decision making process in which several people can be involved.

Otherwise, the development dimension of DECISION MAKING is a very interesting aspect of development and it is useful for assessing social change.

Numerical construction of the indicator

Table XIII to XIX (Appendix A) show which member(s) of the household take what decisions. As is mentioned in Table 1 (page 46), Decision Making is a development dimension concerning strategic gender needs. So, here one is looking at the incidence of women deciding upon certain issues, compared to men deciding on these issues. If a woman decides, on her own, while there is an adult male available in the household, this should be seen as women being very empowered, and the highest score (1.0) will be given. If a woman and man decide together, that is also quite a desirable outcome, the score is 0.8. If a woman decides on her own, but there are not directly any adult males in the household that should also be allotted a fair score for somewhere such a female household head will always have some distant relative to rely on to take such decisions for her instead, so the score is 0.8. If the whole family is said to decide together, then this will be given a score of 0.5. If a male member, or several male members of the household, decide upon the issue without consulting a female household member, a score zero has been given, because this implies no empowerment of women.

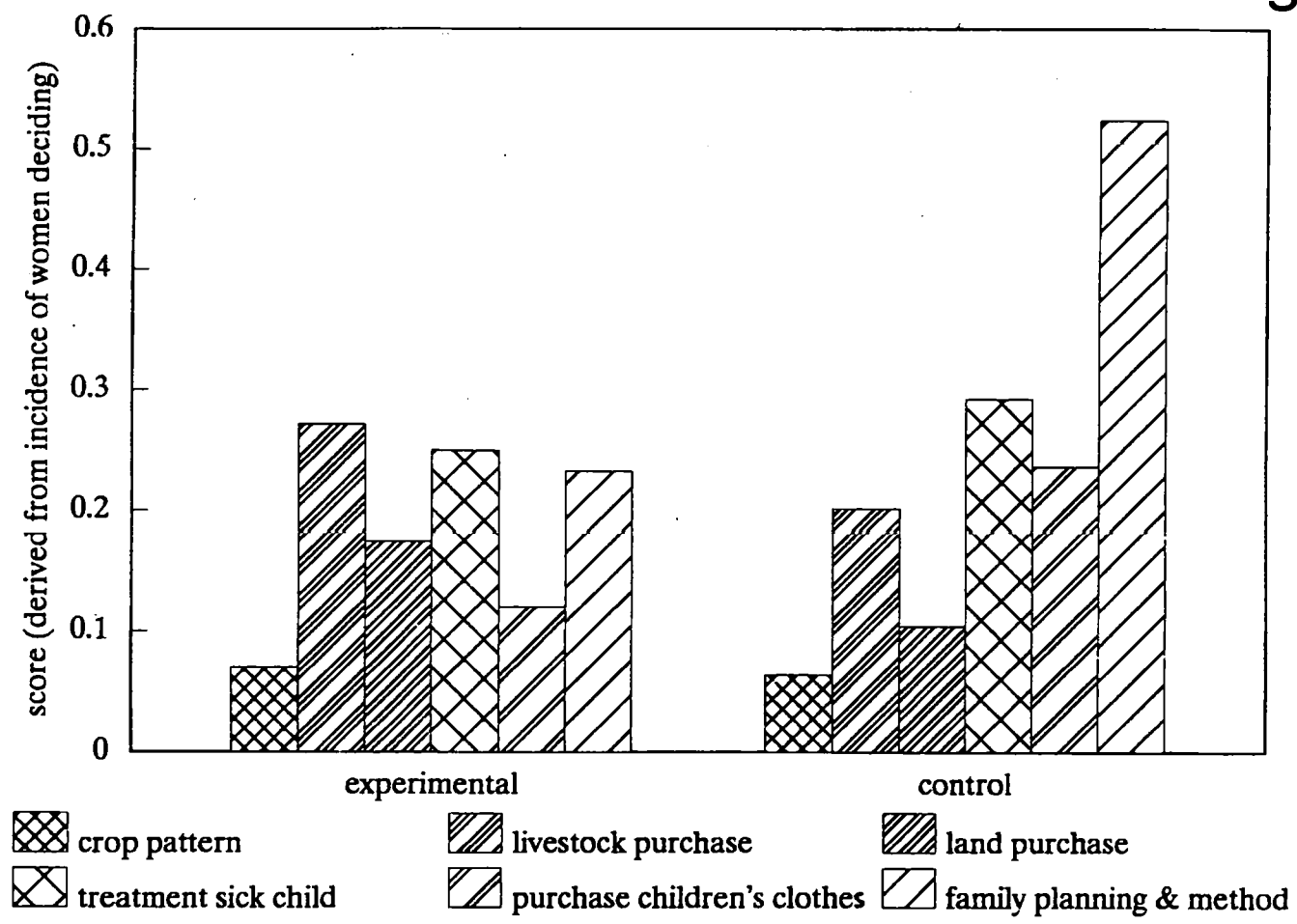
For Table XVIII and XIX (Appendix A) which concern family planning a full score will be given when husband and wife decide together, all other responses getting zero score.

The scores mentioned below are calculated by taking the sum of all the incidences of an answer times the score such an answer has been given.

	EXPERIMENT	CONTROL
Who decides upon the crop pattern	0.07	0.06 (see Figure 8.)
Who decides upon the purchase of livestock	0.27	0.20 " "
Who decides upon the purchase of land	0.17	0.10 " "
Who decides upon the treatment of an ill child	0.25	0.29 " "
Who decides upon the purchase of children's clothes	0.12	0.24 " "
Who decides upon family planning	0.27	0.61 " "
Who decides upon the method of family planning	<u>0.20</u>	<u>0.44</u> " "
Average	0.19	0.28

The average score is the total score for this development dimension.

Figure 8.
scores on various fields of decision making



FAMILY PLANNING

Introduction

Many researches concerning women's issues use family planning as a key indicator. I do not want to

give too much emphasis to this issue. I only wanted to investigate whether women were able to pursue their reproductive rights : matching the number of children they actually get with their desired number of children.

The development dimension FAMILY PLANNING has researched whether women are able to pursue their 'reproductive rights' For a woman to be able to act upon her wishes of how many children to have is to her both a good in itself because she will be able to maximize her quality of life in this respect and it will be illustrative of her empowerment. A woman who can pursue her reproductive rights is in that respect empowered. Therefore, the development dimension of FAMILY PLANNING concerns both practical and strategic gender needs.

Findings

From the list presented in Table XXI (Appendix A) one can find how many women got the number of children they wanted. Women were asked what they thought was the right number of children and they were asked how many children they actually had.

In the experimental village 14% of the women exactly had the number of children they thought ideal, 32% were still intending to get more children, 18% had less children than they thought ideal but for reasons like old age or divorce did not expect to get any more and 36% of the women respondents had more off-spring than they thought desirable, with 2 to 3 children too many. (The remaining women still intended to have more children.) In the control village 10% of the women achieved the desired number of children, 33% were still trying to have more children, 24% got less children than they would have thought ideal, and 33% got too many off-spring with an average of also 2 to 3 children too many. In both villages those that have more children than they thought ideal were practically all people with much older children. Probably these people did not have access to any modern family planning methods when they were in their childbearing age. It could also be that they meanwhile revised their idea of how many children is ideal. One woman in the experimental village was specifically trying for a boy - although she thought it ideal to have only two children, she already had three and said that she intended to try twice more for a boy.

From Table XXII (Appendix A) one can learn what respondents thought was the ideal number of children for a couple to have. Except for one woman in the experimental village who named the staggering number of 17 (she had only four children herself though) the most someone mentions is four to five children. On average people are of the opinion that 2 to 3 children is right, with little difference between answers collected from experiment and control and from men and women. With this question the older generation tended to think that three or four children was ideal while the younger generation seldom thought more than two to be good, in both study areas.

Table XX (Appendix A) presents data about what type of family planning the women respondents are using, if any. The data was split up in those who do want more children, who naturally are unlikely to be using family planning, and those who do not want any more children. The sample is small so no firm conclusions can be drawn except that amongst those who want no more children 31% in the experimental village and 43% in the control was not using any family planning. The range of family planning available to women of both villages appeared similar.

Conclusion

The development dimension FAMILY PLANNING was researched by investigating whether women were able to pursue their reproductive right of matching the number of children they actually have with their desired number of children. By comparing what the women thought was the ideal number of children and what the actual number of their offspring was, the incidence of women having their ideal number of children was obtained.

Beside this it was investigated to what extent planned parenthood methods were practised to materialize the reproductive wishes.

Although people were most willing to supply information on these issues, it is doubtful whether one remembers how many children one initially intended to have. Once one already has a string of children, your ideal number of children is bound to be influenced by the number you have.

On the other hand, many appeared to take this question as an ideological one and answered what they thought was the ideal family size nowadays without it having bearing on their own family size. For this reason, conclusiveness level 2 has been given.

An importance level of no more than 1 was thought to be appropriate.

In particular, because it is relatively easy to express in numerical form, FAMILY PLANNING is a development dimension that can be researched effectively.

Numerical construction of the indicator

In Table XX (Appendix A) is presented the distribution of what type of family planning method people use, by whether they do or do not want any more children. Because it is desirable social change for people to be able to pursue their reproductive right of matching the number of children they actually get with their desired number, the score concerning this question was chosen to be the incidence of family planning used amongst those not wishing for more children. Eleven people used contraceptives out of 16 people not wanting any more children, in the programme village. In the control village 8 out of the 14 people wanting no more children, used contraceptives. So the score is 0.688 for the intervention village and 0.571 for the control village.

Table XXI (Appendix A) is informative about whether people achieve to have their desired number of children. The score concerning this Table is the incidence of people achieving their goal. The score is the proportion of those people having exactly their desired number of children out of all people who do not expect to have any more children. Four people out of 18 in the experimental village had exactly the number of children they desired. In the control village, 7 people out of 13 had achieved exactly the number of children they wanted resulting in a score of 0.2222 for the programme village and 0.2667 for the control village.

	EXPERIMENTAL	CONTROL
Incidence of using contraceptives (if applicable)	0.688	0.571
Childbearing behaviour	0.222	0.267
Average of Tbls XX and XXI (Total score for this development dimension)	0.455	0.419

MARRIAGE AGE

Introduction

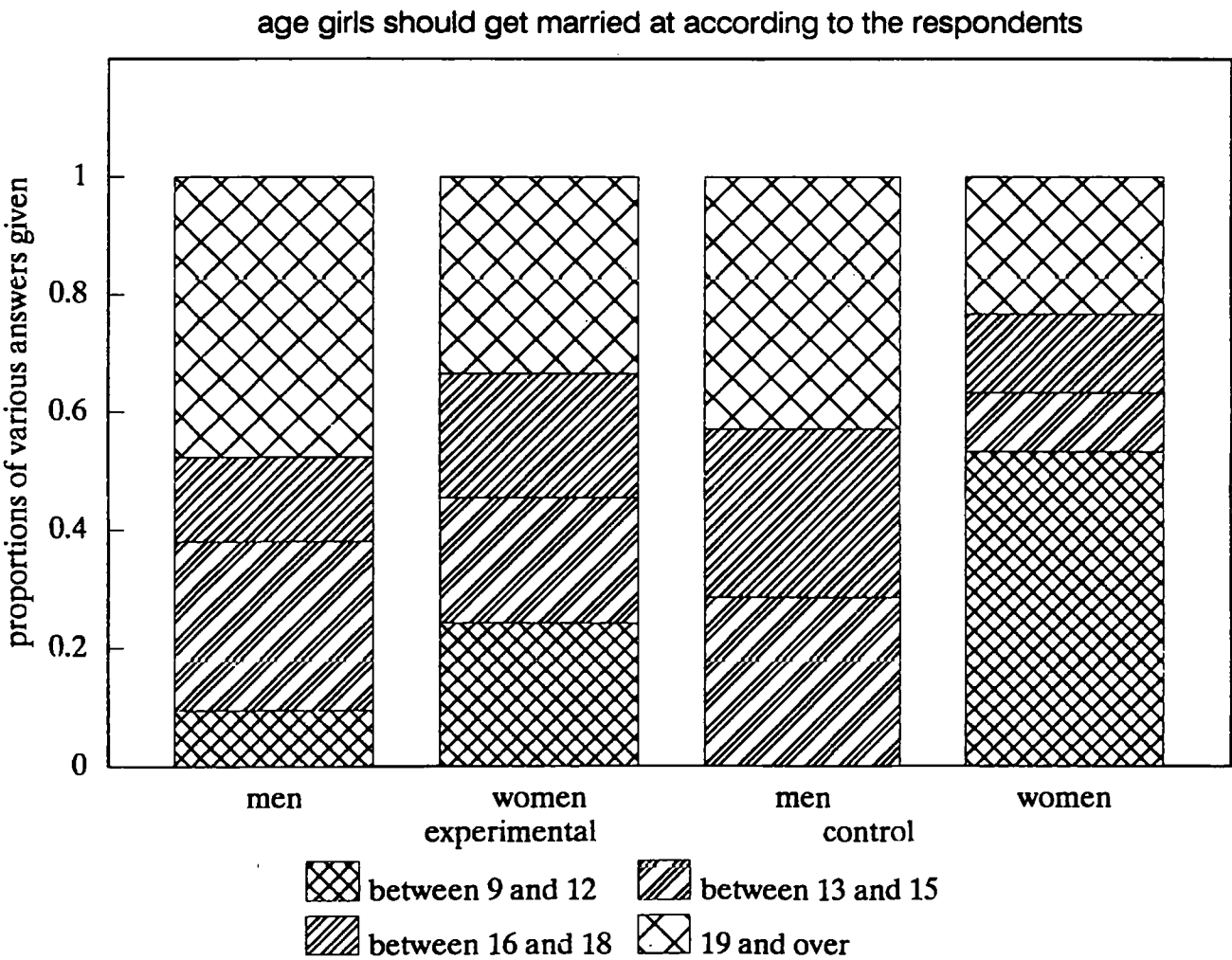
It is a common phenomenon in Bangladesh that young adolescents, especially girls, are already married. Sometimes even girls of just 7 or 8 years of age are married. For many reasons this custom negatively affects women. Young brides usually do not get the chance to continue schooling, they might become pregnant at a young age putting their health at risk, they will be married for a longer period while fertile which is likely to result in more children, they will often be much younger than their husband inducing an unequal relationship and a long widowhood. It would be beneficial to the women of Bangladesh if their average marriage age would go up. The villagers' opinions on this issue is a useful indicator for comparing levels of emancipation.

The development dimension of MARRIAGE AGE has researched what people's attitude towards the ideal marriage age for the sexes is and data was also collected on what people's actual marriage age was for comparison purpose. A great deal of a woman's position within the household is determined by the difference in age between her and her husband. The more powerful her position is, the more actual benefits that might give her and the more she might be able to change the system. This would lead one to conclude that the development dimension of MARRIAGE AGE concerns both practical and strategic gender needs. The way that this development dimension was researched (recording people's opinions on marriage age) will only affect women in a practical way in one generation's time. Therefore, because of the nature of its investigation, MARRIAGE AGE concerns only strategic gender needs.

Findings

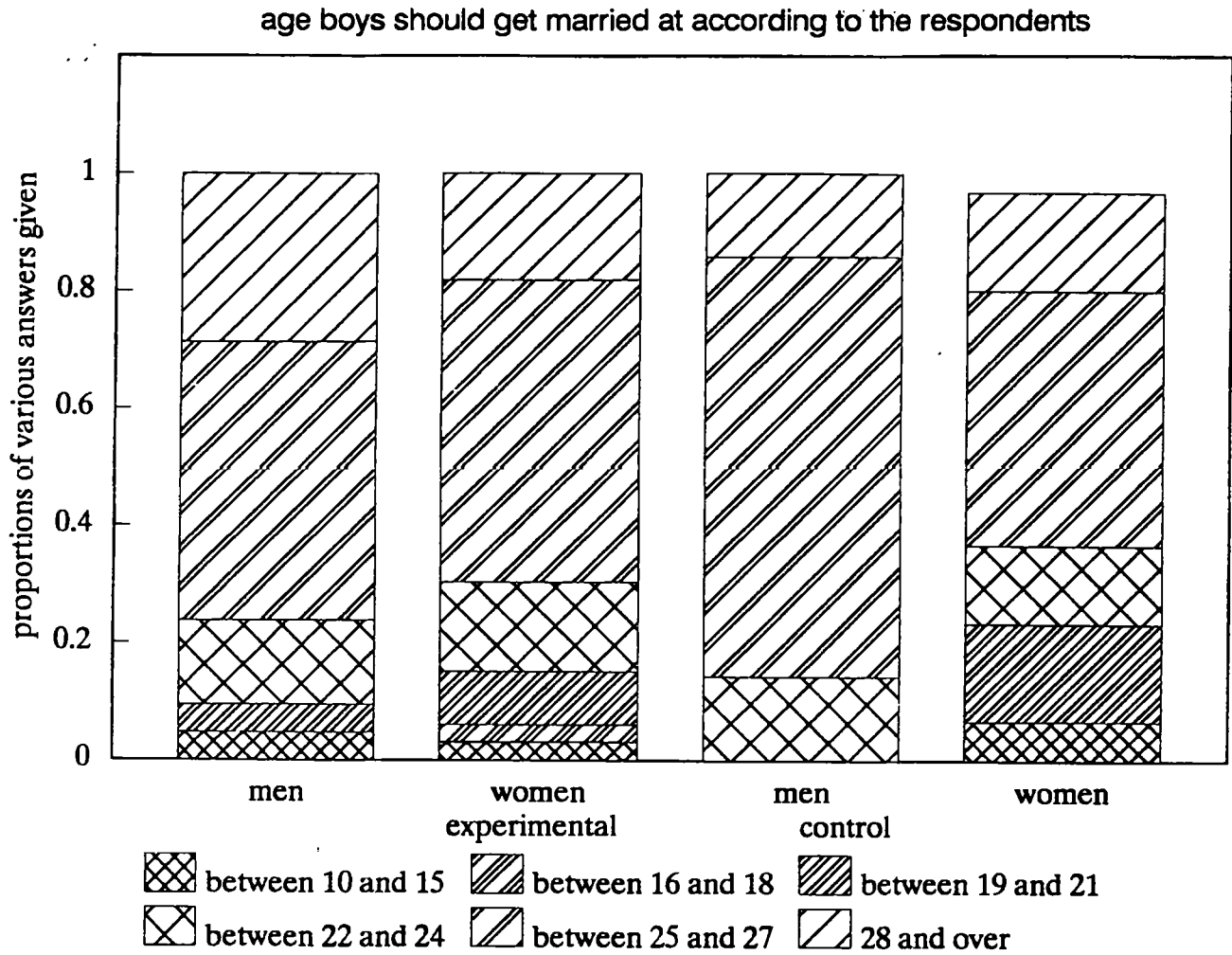
All the respondents were asked how old they thought a girl should be when she gets married. On average, the respondents thought that it would be proper for a girl to marry at the age of just over 16. In the experimental village men answered, on average, that they thought a girl should be just over 17, whereas women answered 16 years and 5 months (this is purely a calculated average) with an average in the experimental village of 16 years and 10 months as the ideal marriage age for girls. In the control the average age mentioned is 15 and 5 months, but here men tend to answer that girls should be married at a much higher age (17.3 years) than women answer (14.6 years). NGOs such as BRAC aim to abolish the practice of girls marrying young. Both villages have a non-traditional attitude to marriage age, because the national average age for girls to get married at currently is less than what these villages thought desirable. (See Figure 9.)

Figure 9.



When it concerns boys' marriage age, the average of all respondents was nearly 25 years. All groups having very similar averages except for the group of women respondents in the control village mentioning a slightly lower age (24.2 years) on average. (See Figure 10.)

Figure 10.

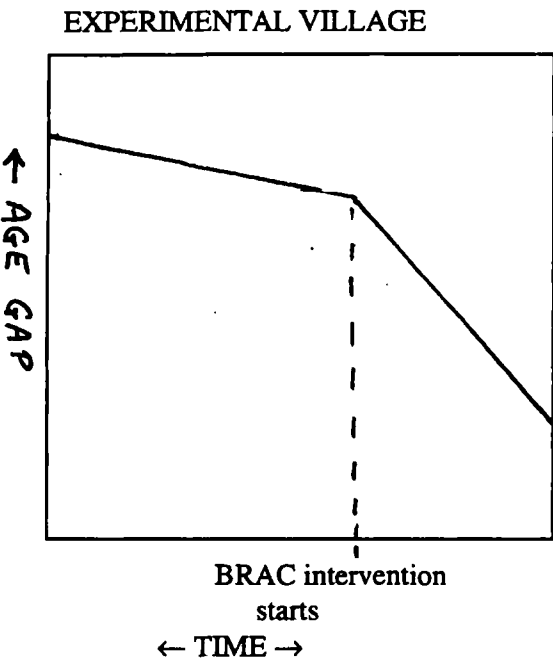


If a husband is older than his wife, he will have more experience in life which will induce inequality in the relationship of the couple. Therefore, what is very important when considering social development is not just the actual age people get married at, but also the age difference between men and women. From the Tables XXIV and XXV (Appendix A) one learns that what is regarded as the ideal age gap between husband and wife is 8 years 3 months as seen by men in the experiment and 8 years 7 months as seen by women in the experiment and 8 years 3 months by men in the control and 9 years 2 months by women in the control. This means that the level of emancipated thinking about age gap is fairly similar in all groups.

Information on the actual age women and men get married at was also collected. The data can be found in the Tables XXVI and XXVII in Appendix A and by the Scattergrams 1 to 4 in Appendix B.

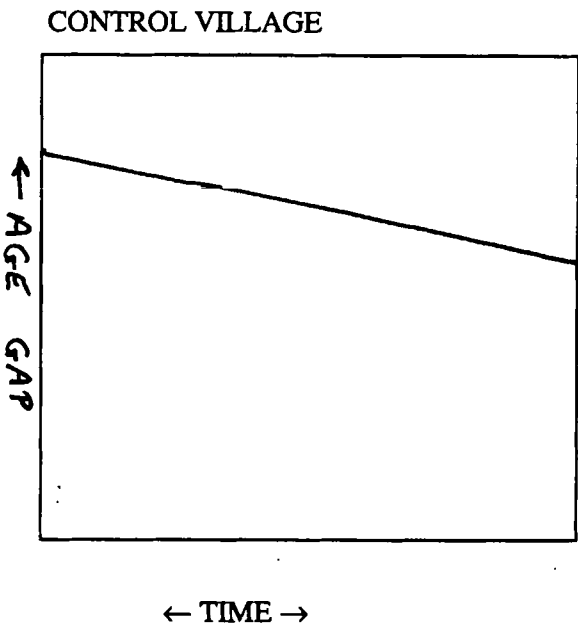
It is difficult to draw any conclusions about trend in marriage and age gap, because the sample is too small (and the time elapsed since the start of BRAC too short). If the sample was bigger then the correlation between 'time' and 'age upon marriage' and 'time' and 'age gap in marriage' could be calculated through a regression programme. If BRAC indeed achieves the impact it aims at (reducing the age gap between husband and wife) then the regression line would possibly look as shown in Figures 11 and 12.

Figure 11. Regression age gap with and without BRAC intervention (imaginary for a large sample):



The BRAC intervention accelerates the decreasing time trend in age gap

Figure 12 Regression age gap with and without BRAC intervention (imaginary for a large sample):



Conclusion

This development dimension is researched through the indicator of opinion on ages men and women should get married at. During the field-work it was clear that people had quite strong opinions on this issue and therefore, it is reasonable to conclude that the respondents answered truthfully. This is the reason for deciding that in terms of women's emancipation this is a fairly important development dimension and importance level 2 has been allocated.

An advantage of the indicator used for this development dimension was that it was numerical in character.

On the whole, the development dimension of MARRIAGE AGE was useful for assessing social change.

Numerical construction of the indicator

Table XXIV (Appendix A) shows the distribution of what people think is the right age for a woman to get married at. It is desirable social change for women to get married later as was discussed above.

The scores for the different ages is a full score for mentioning 25 as the ideal marriage age for women and decreases down to a zero score for 15.

The score derived from people's opinions on women's desirable marriage age is calculated through the following formula:

$$1 - \left(\frac{25 - \text{age thought desirable for women's marriage}}{10} \right)$$

which means that when on average women's desirable marriage age is thought to be 25, a score of 1 is allotted and when women's desirable marriage age is thought to be 10, a score of 0 is allotted. The score for the villages were (see Table XXIV, Appendix A):

Experimental village: $1 - \left(\frac{25 - 16.722}{10} \right) = 0.1719$

Control village: $1 - \left(\frac{25 - 15.43}{10} \right) = 0.0435$

From Table XXV (Appendix A) one learns that on average the respondents in the programme village think 25 years 2 months old to be the right age for men to get married at and in the control village 24 years 7 months, whereas the average desirable age for women is thought to be 16 years 8 months in the programme village and 15 years 5 months in the control village. Therefore, on average in the programme village the respondents think that an age gap of 8.71 years is desirable whereas in the control village this is 9.205. It would be desirable if the age gap between husband and wife on average were zero. A zero score is given for an average age difference of 15 years. A full score will be given for an average age gap of 0. So the scoring formula is

$$\left(\frac{15 - \text{average age gap}}{15} \right)$$

which is $\left(\frac{15 - 8.471}{15} \right) = 0.4353$ for the experimental village

and $\left(\frac{15 - 9.205}{15} \right) = 0.3863$ for the control village

SCORES ON MARRIAGE AGE

	EXPERIMENTAL	CONTROL
How old should a girl be to be married at	0.172	0.044
Age gap	0.435	0.386
The final score for this development dimension is the calculated average of the above two scores:		
Score for the development dimension of marriage age (average between score on 'How old should a girl be to be married at' and score on 'Age gap')	0.304	0.215

CHILD BEARING

Introduction

Another aspect of a woman's life in Bangladesh is that she tends to bear her first child at a very young age. For a woman's health it is probably beneficial not to bear any children until the age of 21²⁴. Therefore, the average age at which a woman has her first child is an indicator of the level of emancipation in the respective villages. The older the woman is, the more chance she has had to complete her physical development and so the higher the level of emancipation.

Similarly, it was considered a great burden on women to have a lot of children and to have them when still very young. The development dimension of CHILDBEARING has researched to what extent women bear children at a very young age and how many they have. A reduction in number of children and a delay in the first to be born will be improving a woman's lot as such and will enable her to be stronger

²⁴ oral information supplied by Nasreen Haq, Nutritionist Researcher, BRAC

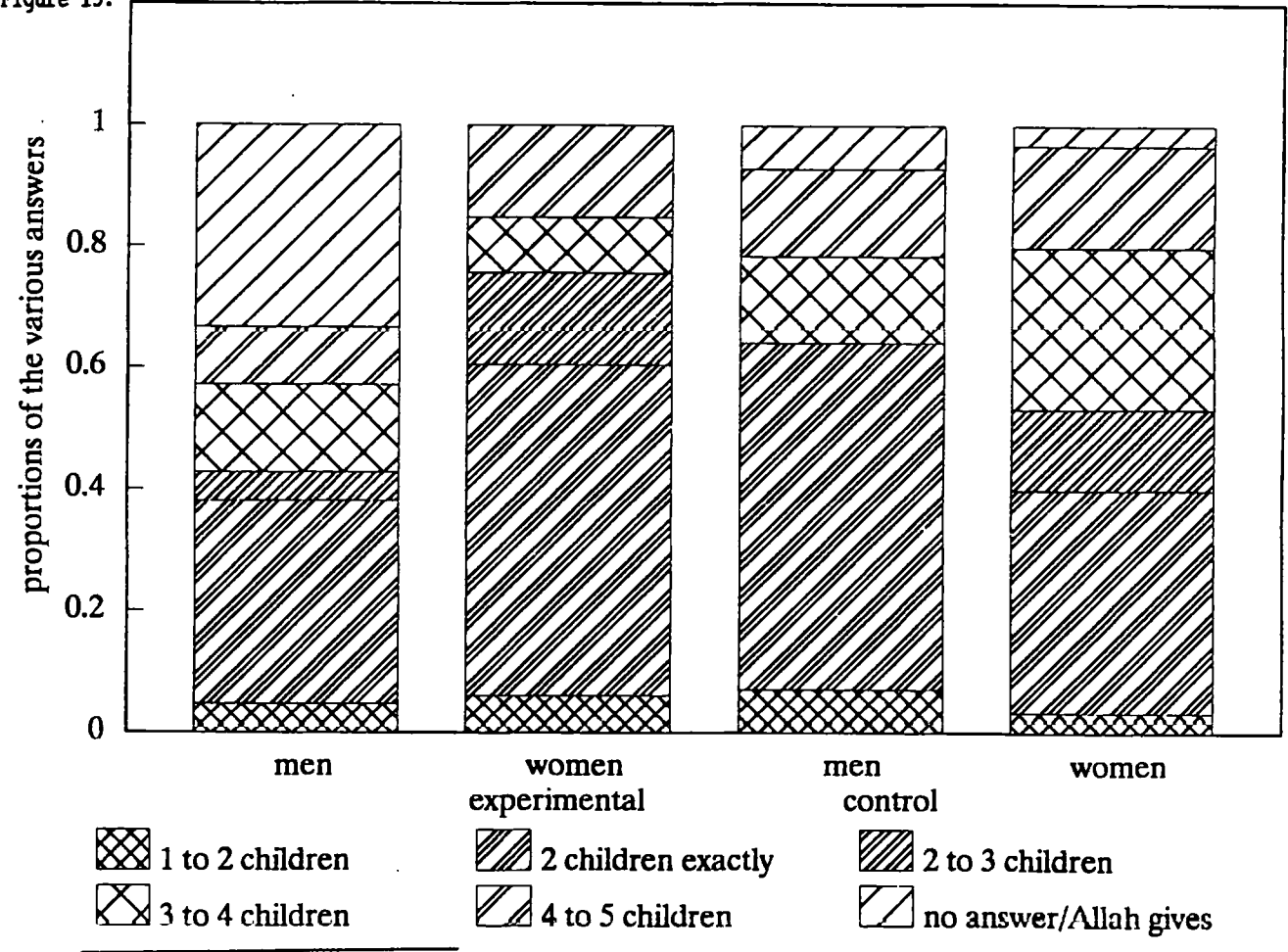
and be more empowered. Therefore, the development dimension of childbearing concerns both practical and strategic gender needs.

Findings

In column A of Table XXI (Appendix A) one can read how many children female respondents have had. On average women who want no more children have had 3 to 4²⁵ children in the experimental village and 4 in the control village. Most of the women who still want more children, aim to have a total of either 2 or 3²⁶ in both research villages.

What people considered the ideal number of children was equally 2 to 3²⁷ children on average in both research villages. The distribution of incidences of answers is presented in Figure 13. answers to the question What is considered the ideal number of children?

Figure 13.



²⁵ The exact average was 3.83 in the experimental village and 4.00 in the control village

²⁶ The purely calculated average was 2.61 children in the programme villae and 2.64 in the control village.

²⁷ The purely calculated average was 2.44 in the programme village and 2.78 in the control village.

Women in the experimental village on average had their first child at the age of 16.0 and in the control village at the age of 16.3 (Table XXIII, Appendix A), so there is only a small difference in this respect between the intervention village and the control village.

These findings cannot be attributable to the BRAC programme since most of the marriages occurred before the intervention started. If anything, it can be deduced from this information that the control and experimental villages are reasonably comparable in respect of this dimension.

Conclusion

The development dimension of CHILDBEARING was researched by collecting data on how many children women had born and at what age they had their first child. Although there were several data available through which the mother's age at the birth of her first child could be cross-checked, these data cannot be regarded as completely reliable because the respondents had the tendency to mention how old they were when they had their first surviving child. Similarly, they usually mentioned the number of surviving children instead of number of births they had gone through. Therefore, conclusiveness level 2 has been given.

Because this development dimension encompasses only a small aspect of emancipation and it partly overlaps with the family planning development dimension, importance level 1 has been given.

Childbearing was a development dimension that was very easy to research and in that respect it is useful for investigating social development.

Numerical construction of the indicator

From Table XXIII (Appendix A) one learns that when having their first baby in 1985 or after women were exactly 18 years old on average and they were just over 16 years old²⁸ on average if they had had their first baby before 1985 in the experimental village. In the control they were on average

²⁸ 16.06 years old was the exact calculated average

between 16 and 17 years old²⁹ when they had their first baby in 1985 or after and before 1985 they were on average 16.25 years old³⁰. Here we are concerned with evaluating impact of BRAC's intervention programme, so only the data of the last six years were included which is the time BRAC has been active in the experimental village.

NGOs find it desirable that women, on average do not bear children until they are 21 years of age and such an outcome will be given a full score. A zero score is when the average age of the mothers upon the birth of a first child is 12 years old.

Therefore the score is :
$$\left(\frac{\text{average age first time mother} - 12}{21 - 12} \right)$$

This is for the programme village:
$$\left(\frac{18 - 12}{9} \right) = 0.667$$

and for the control village:
$$\left(\frac{16.4 - 12}{9} \right) = 0.330$$

It is considered socially developed for people to regard two children as the ideal number of children. If respondents on average would answer that two children were the ideal number of children this would be given a full score. If they were to answer on average four children, then a zero score will be given. In the experimental village the average number of children thought ideal is 2.44 in the experimental village and 2.783 in the control village.

Therefore, the score for the two villages is :

$$1 - \frac{\text{average ideal number of children} - 2}{2}$$

results in experimental village (Table XXII):
$$1 - \left(\frac{2.444 - 2}{2} \right) = 0.788$$

results in control village (Table XXII):
$$1 - \left(\frac{2.783 - 2}{2} \right) = 0.609$$

	EXPERIMENTAL	CONTROL
Average score	0.625	0.470

²⁹ the calculated average was 16.4 years old

³⁰ the calculated average was 16.25 years old.

DIVORCE

Introduction

In particular, when living in Bangladesh's capital Dhaka, one gets the impression that divorce is very common in the rural areas. A Muslim husband only has to repeat the word 'talak' three times and he has divorced his wife under Muslim family law. A man does not need any specific reason to divorce his wife.

After being divorced a woman can try to go back to her parents house. If this is not possible she can try to set up her own household. Men will seldom pay compensation to her or maintenance for the children. When the children no longer need their mother, the custom is that they go and live with their father. In practice, it often happens that children live with their mother until they are married in the case of girls or until they are capable of contributing to the household's income in case of boys, when they go to their father's house.

People in rural Bangladesh usually equate 'divorce' with a man divorcing his wife. It is very rare for women to leave their husband and considerable social stigma is attached to such action. Under Muslim family law the husband has to specify in the marriage contract whether he gives his wife the right to divorce or not. A man automatically has this right.

Because divorce is a social problem that affects women most, from an emancipation point of view a reduction in divorce in the intervention village is seen as beneficial. This is why divorce has been included as one of the development dimensions.

Women are most affected by the phenomenon of divorce. Divorce affects them in an immediate material way and it negatively affects women's chances of ensuring a better position in society and the family. Therefore, the development dimension of DIVORCE assesses strategic and practical gender needs.

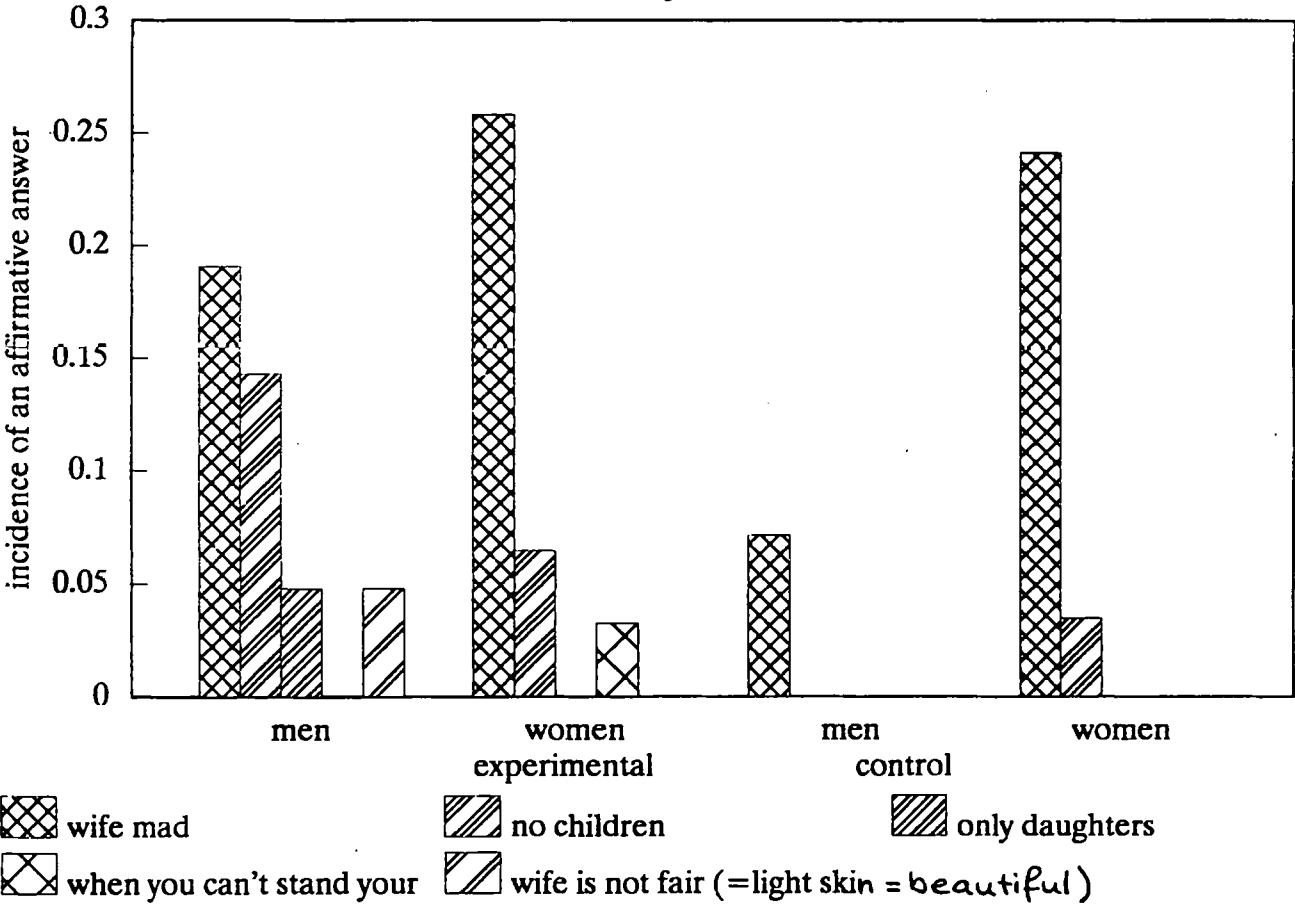
Considering Divorce

During the interviews it was tried to pose the question in a non-biased manner. For instance, it was asked whether divorce was acceptable if the partner was mentally disturbed, rather than the wife, but none of the respondents considered a woman divorcing her husband a possibility. Therefore, only reasons for men divorcing their wives were mentioned.

The interviewees were asked whether they thought certain common reasons for divorce like "There are no children" and "The partner is mad"³¹ were acceptable. Most interviewees thought divorce unacceptable under all circumstances (Table XXIX, Appendix A and Figure 14).

Figure 14.

respondents' opinions on which circumstances constitute an acceptable reason for divorce



The interviewees were most likely to respond that divorce was acceptable in case the wife was

³¹ At first the respondent was asked what they thought were circumstances in which a divorce would be acceptable. At the end they were asked whether any of the reasons "wife mad", "no children", "only daughters" were acceptable.

mentally disturbed. In the experimental village 23% of the respondents answered that they would not condemn divorce if the divorced wife was mad (many of them specified that she had to be well round the bend, and incapable of doing her work properly). In the control village they were more disapproving of divorce. There, only 18% thought a mad wife was an acceptable reason for getting divorced. Remarkable is that, especially in the experimental village, the women were less likely to have a disapproving attitude towards divorce due to madness than men. Women are the ones hardest hit by divorce, but they are least disapproving of men divorcing.

Respondents were second most likely to think that divorce was acceptable in case of the union not having produced any children. Again, the experimental village was less disapproving with 90% condemning divorce in case of no children as opposed to a 98% in the control village. The male respondents who did not disapprove, thought that on average the husband ought to wait and try for over 7 years to see whether any children were coming before he can divorce his wife. The women thought he should wait for 9 or 10 years on average. Only one, male, respondent would not condemn someone divorcing his wife because she bore him only girls.

Two people mentioned that they thought divorce acceptable for other reasons. These were 'not getting on with your partner' (a woman respondent) or 'the wife was too dark'³² (a man respondent). Both these respondents themselves had divorced their first wife/husband for this reason. Both of them got remarried. The woman who had not got on with her partner became the second wife of one of the three polygamous households in the experimental village.

Is divorce bad

Out of 87 respondents, only one thought that divorce was not bad "as long as Islamic rules were observed". Multiple reasons were given why divorce was considered bad. The four most commonly mentioned reasons were: "the girl will have nowhere to go/what will the girl do in that case", "it is bad for the girl's future/the girl's life will be spoiled" (in Bangla 'nosto'), "the girl cannot be

³² In Bangladesh beauty is strongly related with skin colour, the lighter the skin the more beautiful.

married again" and "one should only marry once" (Table XXX, Appendix A).

Other reasons given, much less frequently, either argued on the line that divorce is bad because it is sinful, against religion, against the law, or that it causes trouble.

Two people answered that divorce was bad "because it is bad" and a female group member in the programme village said that divorce is bad because they say so in the group meetings.

Incidence

The incidence of divorce since BRAC started its intervention was two cases in twenty-two families in the experimental village and one case out of fourteen families in the control village. The interviewed sample was not large enough to draw any conclusions as to whether the incidence of divorce is greater or smaller in the experimental village.

In the experimental village, all the village informants answered the question "is divorce becoming more or less common?" that it was definitely becoming less common.

Abdul, who was the male BRAC group leader, thought that "since BRAC started, divorce has disappeared". He could only think of two incidences of divorce in his village in the last six years and these both concerned girls from his village who were divorced by boys from other villages.

He also told us that if someone from his village would try to divorce, whether group member or not, the BRAC group would take action and try to get the man to take the wife back. He could not give any examples of such an occurrence, but it could be that the threat of such action by the group is already enough as a deterrent for people not to divorce.

Robiul, another village informant who was not even a BRAC group-member, also told us that he thought that due to BRAC's activities divorce had gone down in the last few years.

Similar information has not been obtained in the control village, due to the fact that there was not enough familiarity with that village to justify village informants.

Case Study 1

Abdul, a village informant from the intervention village, told us about a case of a divorce-related incident in the neighbouring village. There the wife of a villager had gone to visit her parents for a few days. When she came back she found that there was another wife in her house and her husband told her that he was divorcing her. The BRAC group of both the neighbouring village and the experimental village intervened in the disagreement (the women members went to intimidate the husband with sticks) and a 'shalish' was called. In the 'shalish' it was resolved that neither the first nor the second wife should now be sent away so they decided that the three should live as a polygamous household. (Nine months after the incidence the two wives were still living under one roof.) Abdul recounted this incidence to prove that BRAC was very successful in eradicating divorce.

Several people recounted this incidence and none mentioned anything about the second wife's parents having gone wrong by marrying their daughter off to a man who was already married. The villagers say that it is so difficult to find husbands, poor parents have to consider all options.

Is divorce or polygamy worse?

From the above story one can conclude that people consider women better off living in a polygamous situation than divorced.

A seemingly contradictory finding came up when the respondents were asked specifically whether divorce was worse or polygamy was worse in their opinion. Here slightly more than half thought polygamy worse than divorce. Probably, the interviewees interpreted this question as "What is worse, a man choosing to have two wives or a man choosing to divorce his first wife and take a second wife." Looking at the man's action, the man deciding to have two wives is greedy and worse than the one divorcing the first wife and taking a second wife. From the point of view of a woman a polygamous

husband is much preferable to no husband at all.

Women divorcing men

As already mentioned above, the respondents did not really consider it a possibility for a woman to divorce her husband for whatever reason. They said that a woman would never prefer insecurity to a bad husband. The one woman who decided to divorce her husband did that knowing she would remarry and find security with another husband.

The fact that women do not usually divorce can also be due to the fact that a much greater social stigma is attached to it. The following two case studies should illustrate this.

Case study 2

The first day that I came to interview Rokeya she said half-way through the interview that she had no more time and that I should come back the next morning at around 9 a.m. The next morning she was already waiting and invited us inside her house under the pretext of showing her 'saris'. Her husband, her mother-in-law and her daughter were all out at this time of the day and inside her house we had an unknown level of privacy. Rokeya had set it all up like this because she had decided to tell her life story.

Rokeya was the only daughter, seventh and youngest child of a well-to-do family from the programme village. When she was only eight years old, her father decided to marry her off to the twelve-year-old, only son of a family recently from India immigrated family who were also quite well off. At the time of this conversation she had already been married for seventeen years.

Quite soon after her marriage it became clear that her husband was abnormal, incapable of learning and working. Indeed, the day before we had attempted to interview him but with every question, like a child, he had asked his mother what he should answer and we had had to abandon interviewing him. After nine years of her marriage her daughter was born. She told us that during the pregnancy her

husband had acted even more strangely and he had been aggressive towards her. Since the birth of her daughter, she had refused to have physical contact with him. By the time of this conversation, Rokeya said that things had deteriorated so much that the cohabitation had become unbearable.

What she really had on her chest was whether I thought that she should divorce her husband or not. About three weeks before, she had gone to stay with one of her brothers for a month. Her brothers were all very nice to her, she said.

The brother that she had been staying with, had in fact encouraged her to divorce her husband. He had said that she could live with him and his family and he would support her. Because Rokeya asked me, I said that indeed I would divorce such a husband. But I also explained that it would be easier for me to divorce because the stigma attached to divorce is far less in Europe.

Despite the fact that Rokeya had quite a secure alternative and that I supported the idea of leaving her husband, she still said that she did not think that she would ever take such a decision. The 'moulvi',³³ would be making her life difficult if she decided to divorce and she did not want to bring such shame upon her family either. No, she thought she would stick it out.

There was not much that could be done for Rokeya except for listening to her sad story. If the reverse had been the case and it would have been the wife who was abnormal, the husband would have few people objecting to him divorcing his wife. A woman is very disadvantaged in this matter.

Case Study 3

While the research was conducted in the experimental village, a remarkable story went round. It concerned a household that was not included in the research sample. The story went that in this household the wife of the eldest son and the younger son had fallen in love with one another.

Because it would have been completely socially unacceptable for her to divorce one brother and marry

³³ a moulvi (or molla or mollabi) means a religious leader, usually in charge of a mosque

another, the 'lovers' had thought out another plan. They had put poison in the husband's food. Unfortunately for them, the husband did not die immediately and could tell his mother what had happened. Later on we heard he had died in hospital. The dead man's wife was sent back to her parents. No case was filed though; the parents did not want to take their only remaining son to court.

If the husband had died immediately and nobody had worked out what had caused his death, the woman would have been able to remarry to her 'lover' quite respectably.

In case the situation would have been the reverse and it concerned a man who had fallen in love with his wife's younger sister, he could probably have married her without having to kill his first wife and they could have lived in polygamy without bringing a lot of shame upon themselves.

In case a woman wants to divorce her husband this is far harder for her than the reverse would be for a man.

Conclusion

Indicators through which this development dimension was researched were so numerous that it can be concluded that this development dimension has been researched elaborately. The sample size of two villages was too small to assess the impact of the BRAC programme on the actual incidence of divorce. This is why a conclusiveness level 2 has been given.

The phenomenon of divorce negatively affects women's life in many ways. Therefore, the development dimension of DIVORCE has been given an importance level of 3.

In the case of the issue of divorce, the opinions people have might not be an indicator of their actions as much as it is with other dimensions researched. It is so widely known that women suffer from divorce that few people will fail to see its effects. However, when it comes to your own conjugal relationship more selfish arguments might prevail. Since an NGO aims to reduce the actual

incidence of divorce, this indicators is possibly not optimal.

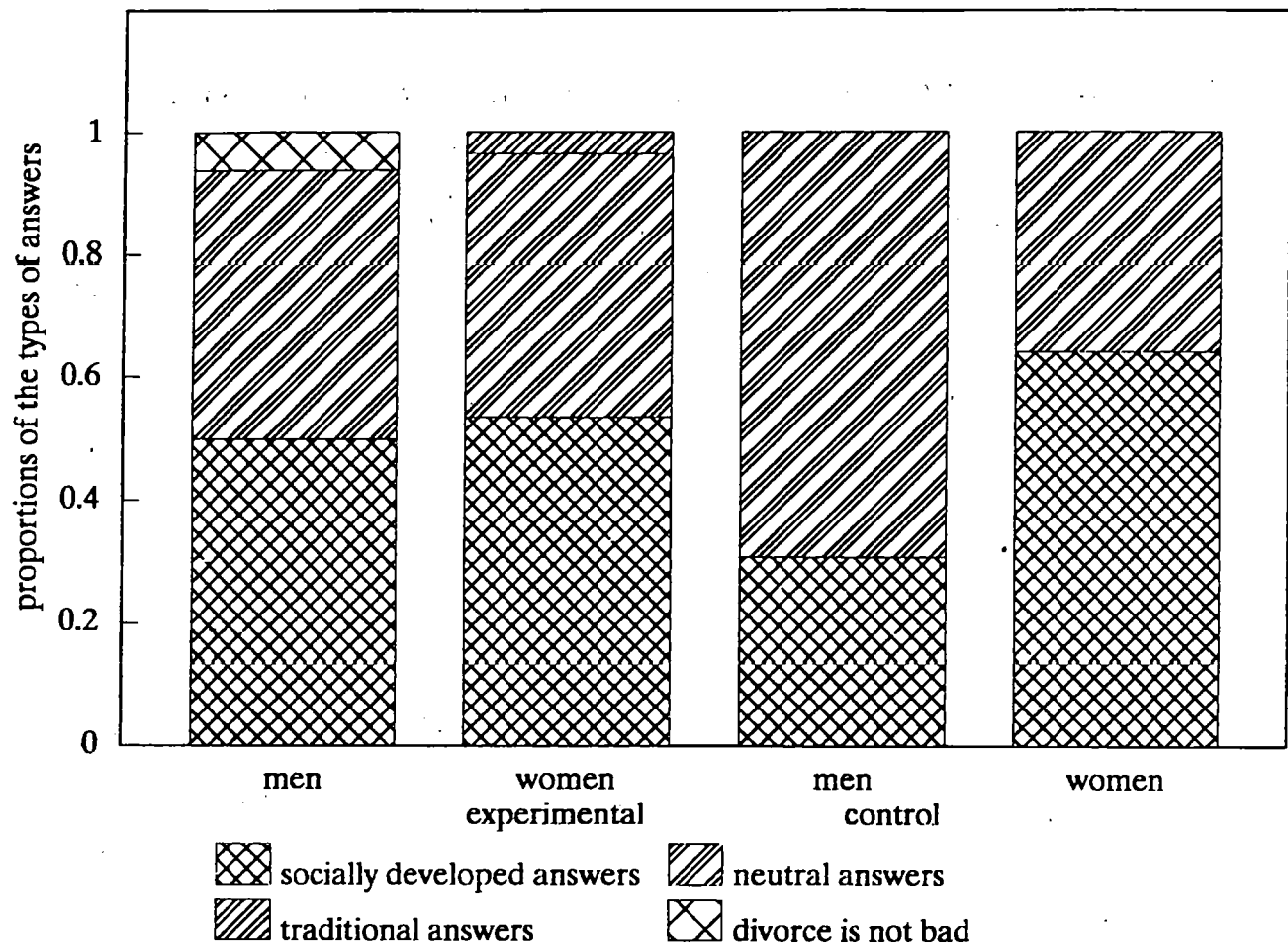
Although the development dimension of DIVORCE is very important and although many options of assessing DIVORCE has been explored in this section, there were only a few objective indicators that could be expressed in a numerical form. DIVORCE is such an important aspect of women's development in a Bangladeshi setting, that those few indicators that assess DIVORCE would need to be incorporated into an evaluation. Otherwise, DIVORCE is a development dimension that would not be particularly suitable for inclusion in a short-cut evaluation.

Numerical construction of the indicator

As was discussed above, NGOs tend to think it desirable if divorce reduces. Therefore, the answer "Divorce is unacceptable under all circumstances" is labelled as 'socially developed'. The score derived from this question is the incidence of people answering that they find divorce unacceptable (Table XXIX, Appendix A).

The next question asked was "How many respondents think divorce bad and why?" The answers have been presented in Table XXX (Appendix A) under three sections: 'socially developed', 'neutral', 'traditional'. The score derived from this table is calculated in the same way as was done for CONCEPT OF POWER, which is the incidence of a 'socially developed'-answer plus half the incidence of a 'neutral'-answer. The proportions of each of these answers is presented in the below Figure.

Figure 15. proportions of types of reasons for divorce being bad



The scores were:

	EXPERIMENTAL	CONTROL
TABLE XXIX (Appendix A)	0.769	0.814
TABLE XXX (Appendix A)	0.837	0.963
Average for the development dimension of divorce	0.803	0.889

The incidence of divorce in each village was not taken into account for the score, because the sample was too small.

POLYGAMY

Introduction

In Bangladesh, polygamy means a man living with two or more wives. Polygamy, under certain conditions such as the first wife giving her consent, is legal under Muslim family law. It is, like divorce, a phenomenon not uncommon in Bangladesh. Polygamy reflects that women have less freedom than men because a man can have more than one wife, while a woman cannot have more than one husband. It is often said that wives from polygamous relationships live under more difficult circumstances, than those in monogamous ones. This is why polygamy has been taken up as a development dimension in this research.

Women are the ones who suffer under the phenomenon of polygamy. Women living in polygamy have to share one husband, which means that they have to share one income which affects them materially. It also subverts women being able to co-operate with each other because they have to compete for one man's attention. Therefore, the development dimension of POLYGAMY concerns both practical and strategic gender needs.

Polygamy in literature

In the literature the following is mentioned about polygamy. Usually, polygamous households are fairly well-to-do simply due to the fact that it is more expensive to provide for two wives than for one. Consequently, poorer men do not frequently consider taking a second wife so easily. Mostly, there are reasons why men take a second wife. Reasons for taking a second wife can be because no children or no sons have been born, or the first wife is no longer capable of doing her work because of handicaps or madness. Very traditional and often religious men in Bangladesh see polygamy as a status symbol. Having many children is also considered a status symbol by such people and polygamy is conducive to that too.

As discussed above, if a choice is to be made between polygamy or divorce most people would, for the sake of the woman, prefer polygamy. In some literature it was argued that it should be seen as civilness to the first wife if the husband kept her on, if there were enough reasons to divorce her respectably and replace her with a second wife.

Polygamy in the experimental village

In the experimental village, out of 75 households, three were polygamous. Two of these households were included in the sample. In the two polygamous households that were interviewed no reasons like the ones mentioned above leading to polygamy have been found. In both the households the first wife had been fertile. In one case the first wife had one son and three daughters, in the other case the first wife had two sons and two daughters.

The first polygamous household was the 'moulvi's' household. In his household, though the second wife was considerably younger than the first, she was according to Bengali tastes not beautiful being dark, while the first wife was very fair. For two young unmarried women, as we, the researchers were, it would have been disrespectful to insist on the 'moulvi' explaining why he had taken a second wife, so no information concerning this decision has been obtained from him.

When this question was posed to both his wives they did not think there had been any particular reason and the son by the first marriage thought that his father had married again 'for the heck of it'. The fact that the man concerned here is a 'moulvi' and therefore most probably a conservative religious man, means that he might have taken a second wife for status reasons or for having even more children. The last he certainly achieved; on top of the four he had from his first wife, he had another six with his second wife of which the youngest was two years old.

In the other polygamous household the second wife was only a few years younger than the first wife and the second wife was not any better looking than the first. In this household all interviewees talked openly about the reasons why there were two wives. Basically, the household head, also a religious but less conservative man, met his second wife in a neighbouring village. She was married at the time and had two daughters. She had been very unhappy in her first marriage. They fell in love with each other and she divorced her first husband, who she said was very bad to her, and remarried the man she loved.

In this household the cohabitation of the two wives was very uncomfortable. They did not want to sit

together in the same area. Avoiding this is problematic in a small village house. Their husband, maybe tired of all the fighting, sat yet somewhere else every time we visited the household. In particular the first wife seemed to suffer a lot under the situation and a lot of aggression towards her husband came out when we asked her opinion on polygamy. Here the second wife did not have any children from her second husband. The problem of 'family planning for three' the husband had solved by having a vasectomy, an operation virtually unheard of in rural Bangladesh.

In the 'moulvi''s household the various members of the family seemed to live together more peacefully. It took me a long time to work out which children were whose, because the first wife helped looking after the off-spring of the second wife. Here the first wife was a very conservative and orthodox Muslim (she was of the opinion that seventeen children were the ideal number of children) and could maybe therefore accept her husband's second marriage more easily.

An interesting finding was that many people talked in a very disapproving manner about the 'moulvi''s second marriage, despite the fact that he was their religious leader, while nobody seemed to think bad about the other polygamous household. "But that was 'prem' [=love in Bengali]" one neighbouring woman said.

Attitude to polygamy

As already mentioned above, the interviewees were less disapproving of polygamy than divorce, under certain conditions. In the control village the respondents had been more disapproving of divorce than in the experimental village. The reverse was the case with polygamy. Only 11% thought polygamy due to the first wife being mad unacceptable in the control village, while nearly half, 46%, thought so in the experimental village. In the control village 75% thought that the husband could take a second wife if there were no children, whereas in the experimental village only 54% thought that it would be alright to do that.

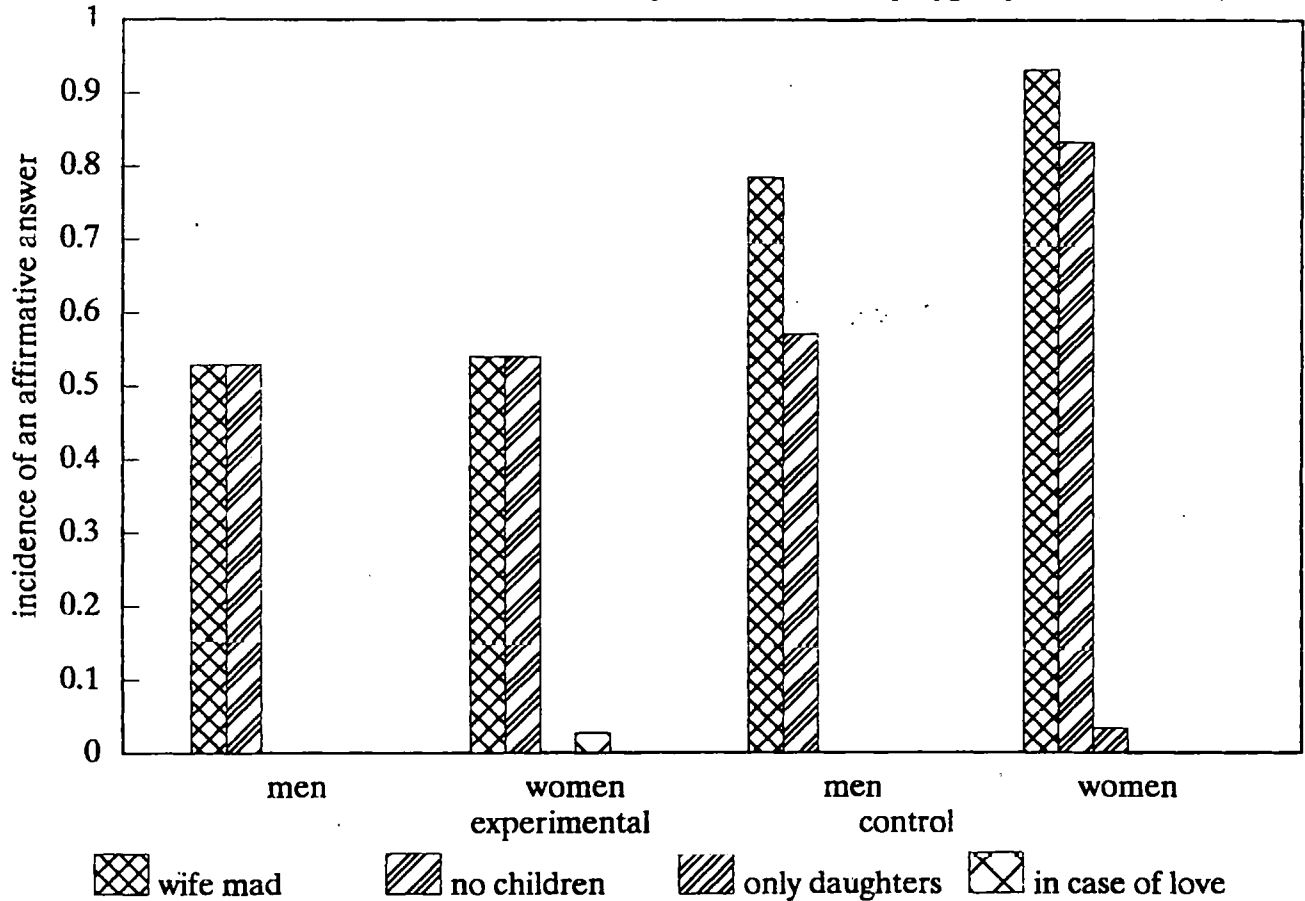
Only one woman in the control village said she would not condemn a man marrying a second wife if he had only daughters with his first wife. In case there were no children, the male respondents in the

experimental village thought that the husband should wait and see for over 6 years (on average) before taking a second wife. The women in the experimental village thought waiting for nearly 9 years was appropriate. In the control village the men thought one should wait for over 10 years and the women thought 10 years. Therefore, although the incidence of people approving of polygamy is much smaller in the experimental village, those who do find it acceptable are of the opinion that the concerned husband can take another wife sooner, with one female group member even saying that the husband only has to wait for a year and a half after the marriage until doing so.

It was also very remarkable that none of the respondents suggested that one should have a medical check-up before establishing infertility and marrying another wife. In the control village one person at least came up with that answer. (See Figure 16.)

Figure 16.

respondents' opinions on which circumstances
constitute an acceptable reason for polygamy



Conclusion

The development dimension of POLYGAMY like DIVORCE, was researched thoroughly. The incidence of polygamy, with case studies of these in the experimental village, was recorded, all respondents were asked whether they thought polygamy acceptable and under which circumstances. People's opinions might well have been influenced by what they thought the people listening in would approve of hearing. This as such is also an indicator though. Parts of the method of researching this development dimension was fairly subjective, but the fact that the remaining non-subjective methods were so numerous leads to it having been given a conclusiveness level of 2 all the same.

Polygamy, like divorce, is a development dimension of women's worth. As a phenomenon it is not as common as dowry for instance, for it is an phenomenon of a certain class. Therefore, an importance level of 2 has been given. (Dowry is given an importance level of 3.)

Because the development dimension of POLYGAMY is very important to women's development, it should not be excluded from any evaluation of programme impact. However, as was also the case with divorce, the correlation between opinions on polygamy and actual incidence on polygamy might not be so strong. This makes POLYGAMY a development dimension that is not particularly suitable for inclusion in a short-cut evaluation, at least not if using the method used here.

Numerical construction of the indicator

As for the development dimension of DIVORCE, NGOs would like to see the phenomenon of polygamy to be reduced. Therefore, people disapproving of polygamy under all circumstances is seen as 'socially developed'. The score derived from Table XXXI (Appendix A) presents data on how many people think polygamy acceptable. The score derived from this table is the average incidence of people saying that they think polygamy is unacceptable.

Weighted incidence of answer "polygamy is unacceptable..."	EXPERIMENTAL	CONTROL
Question 1: in case wife mad"	0.463	0.114
Question 2: in case of no children"	0.463	0.250
Question 3: in case only daughters"	<u>1.000</u>	<u>0.977</u>
Average score for the development dimension of polygamy	0.642	0.447

As was the case when divorce was investigated, the sample size is not large enough to establish a difference between the incidence of polygamy in each village. On the other hand, the data do show that the attitude the respondents have towards polygamy is noticeably different - the intervention village has a more 'socially developed' attitude than the control village.

DOWRY

Introduction

In rural Bangladesh it is common for a woman to bring a dowry when she moves into her husband's house. The fact that the future husband demands a dowry reflects that the girl as such does not have enough value. If the incidence of dowry, or the price of dowry decreases, that implies that the value of women has increased. Therefore, the lower the incidence of dowry, the higher the level of emancipation. Dowry has therefore been included as a development dimension to investigate emancipation and social change.

The phenomenon of dowry disadvantages women in two ways. Girls are seen as a burden to the family because for her to get married the family will have to pay money. This will negatively affect a girl's well-being. It undermines women's self-respect and others' respect for women because the dowry phenomenon effectively means that women have less value than men. Therefore, the development

dimension of DOWRY concerns both practical and strategic gender needs.

The concept of dowry

There is disagreement within both the intervention and control village as to what constitutes a dowry. To most villagers a dowry is a certain amount of money and/or jewellery and/or livestock and/or attire for the groom, that is demanded by the groom's party from the bride's party at the time of marriage. The wedding shall not take place unless the bride's party has agreed to give these. Sometimes some of the agreed upon items do not have to be presented until some time after the marriage ceremony. It also happens that after a wedding has already taken place, the groom's party demands a dowry, or more dowry, threatening to send the girl back if their demand is not satisfied.

When the items that are given have been demanded, the inhabitants of both the experimental and control villages consider it a dowry. However, what seems to happen far more often in both the experimental village and the control village, is that the girl's party, already during the negotiations tells about the gifts they intend to give and the groom's family is satisfied with these and demands no more. In this kind of arrangement many villagers and especially the groom's party, will not call such a transfer of goods a dowry, but just 'gifts'. Such gifts can also reach sizeable amounts. The girl's party will know what the dowry expectations are and their offer will be mostly conditioned by these and not their own wish of how much they want to give.

Sometimes the bride's party might look upon these gifts as a dowry, feeling that they have been demanded, while the groom's party sees it as gifts that the bride's family has volunteered to give. Of course, there is only a fine line between the transfer of goods that have been demanded and that are given voluntarily.

The fact that 77.3% of the respondents in the experimental village and 60% in the control village replied that they did not receive a dowry is to be ascribed mostly to them preferring to call it gifts (see Table XXXIII, Appendix A). It is commonly known in the villages that demanding a dowry is

against Islam and therefore seen as a sin by Muslims. Through sophisticated arguing people by-pass this problem and simply call it 'gifts' and not 'dowry' reasoning that they have not really been demanded.

How the dowry custom is practised

Most literature reports that dowry is far more common amongst Hindus than amongst Muslims. This pattern was not observed in both the study locations. In fact, in the intervention village, the incidence of dowry among Hindu respondents was only 7% while it was 28% amongst Muslims. It was clear that the incidence and the size of dowry is strongly related to the wealth of the families involved.

Also from the Table XXXIII (Appendix A), one can see that there is a much higher incidence of dowry in the control village than in the experimental village while the sample was of comparable economic standing in both.

In the programme village, the phenomenon of 'bride price' as some village studies have reported to have existed some years ago, is unheard of. Even the older villagers cannot recall an instance of it.

Dowry is normally demanded by the groom himself, and not the groom's family. Often interviewed people expressed their discontent about their son demanding dowry, in particular if it concerned consumer items such as watches. In the majority of the cases, the bride's parents will pay for the girl's dowry.

The following story a passer-by told us, illustrates how quickly things can change though.

Ratna, member of the BRAC group was the daughter of group member Halima. Halima, being a widow and landless, could not save enough money for a wedding her daughter could approve of, she told us. So Ratna took out a loan from BRAC for buying a cow. Rather than buying a cow, she used the money

towards her wedding and a dowry and left for her husband's village. Now Halima, the mother, is paying off the loan for her, which she was happy to do. Halima says that if it was not for BRAC, she would never have been able to marry out her daughter. So in this case, the bride simply arranged for her own dowry.

How the dowry custom has changed over the years

According to the village informants, the phenomenon of dowry used to be much less common when they were young. They also claim that the size of dowry demanded has gone up and is still going up. The type of items included in dowry nowadays is different from before. Now watches and bicycles are the more common items in either study location, while it used to be livestock and more durable goods like household items. Although motorbikes are said to be common dowry items, no interviewee mentioned having given or received a motorbike in either study area.

From the scattergrams 7 and 8 in Appendix B, there appears to be neither a positive nor a negative time-trend in the incidence or the size of dowry paid. It is being said in the literature (e.g. Abdullah and Zeidenstein, 1982) that there is a positive correlation between wealth and both incidence and size of dowry paid. Since people have gradually become poorer, one would expect the time-trend of dowry to have been negative, i.e. levels or incidence to decline. It is possible to infer from these results that, had the level of wealth remained stable, the levels and incidence of dowry might actually have increased.

Attitude to dowry

The fact that nearly all respondents were very reluctant to call the 'presents' their son received upon their marriage 'dowry', indicates that they do not approve of this custom.

During the individual interviews, the interviewees were all asked what they think about the dowry system.

The majority of the respondents (72% in the experimental village and 85% in the control village) answered that they thought that the dowry system is bad. Those who did not think that the dowry system was harmful, gave as reasons that thanks to the dowry they will give, their daughter will stay 'happy' ('sukhi' in Bengali), their daughter will not be divorced, or their daughter will be treated better by her in-laws than if she had not brought something in.

Even amongst those who think that the dowry system is bad, the reason given is mostly that they are poor and cannot afford to give dowry. Some were asked whether they would think any differently about dowry if they were richer, and indeed, many answered that if they were rich, they would not disapprove of the dowry system.

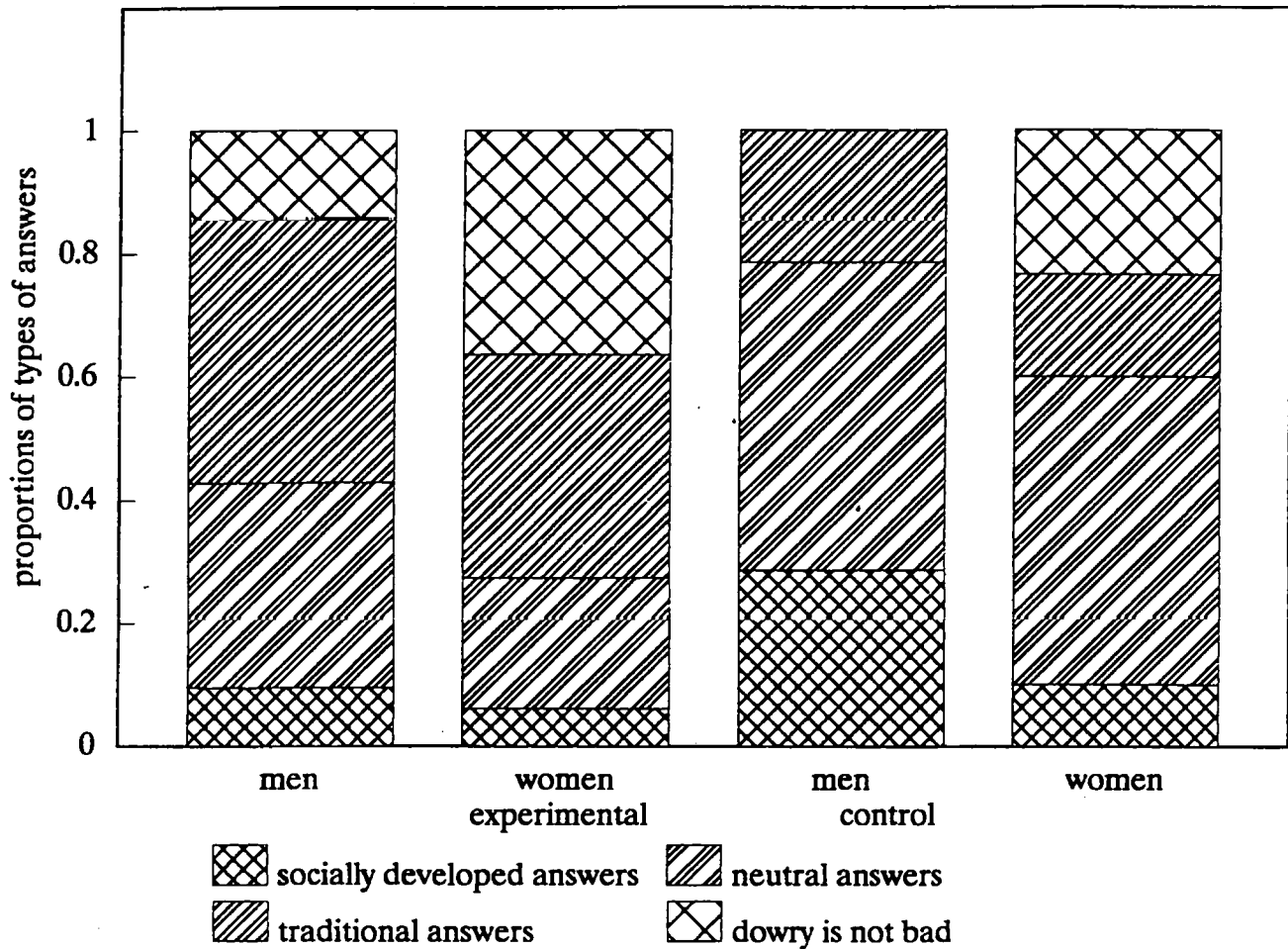
The three main reasons the respondents gave for thinking the dowry system to be bad were "I am poor", "Not everyone can give it" and "it is expensive". These people do not see any fault in the system per se, they only disapprove of it because it is a great financial burden.

Only very exceptionally does someone truly analyse the harmful nature of dowry in what could be considered a 'socially developed' way. They mentioned that the system of giving "makes the girl feel as if they have to pay to get rid of her". One woman thought dowry bad because "it gives problems to women". A few respondents said that dowry was bad because "poor people's daughters might not marry at all or they might be divorced". (See earlier on this page for classification of answers as 'socially developed', 'neutral' and 'traditional', and Table XXXV, Appendix A for details).

On the whole, the villagers do not like the dowry system because it is a heavy financial burden, but otherwise they do not see much wrong with it. Remarkable is that there is no noticeable difference between the responses by men and women or between the responses by Muslims and Hindus. (Figure 17.)

Figure 17.

types of answers why dowry is bad / incidence of dowry bad



Who is affected most by dowry

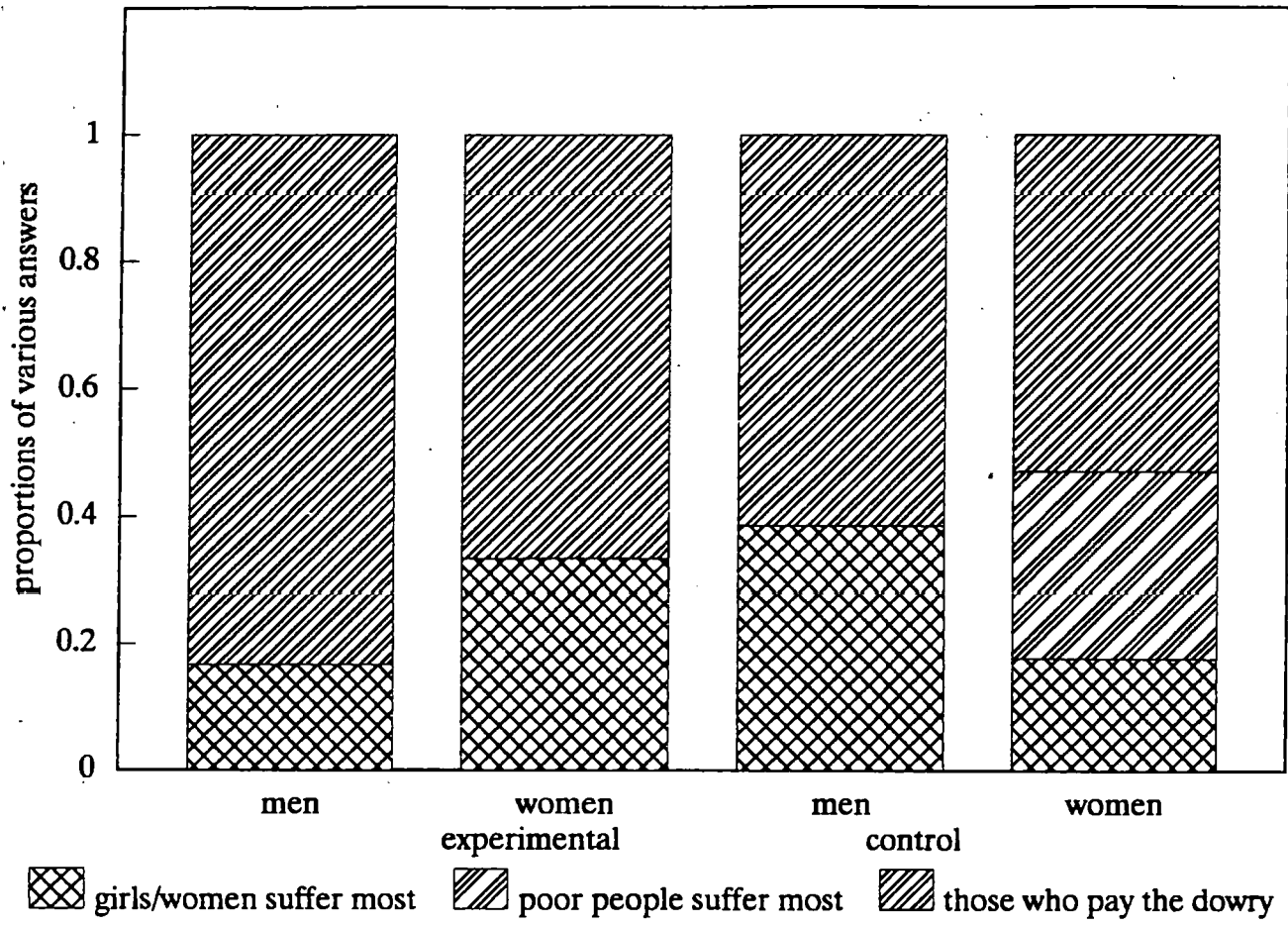
When looking at Table XXXVI (Appendix A) "Who do the respondents think suffer most under the dowry system?" one finds that 58% of the respondents think that the girl's father or the girl's parents are the ones affected most by the dowry system, again indicating that they regard dowry as a purely financial matter, and not an element in society degrading and devaluing women.

Only 26% of the respondents thought that it was the girls or the women that suffer most from the dowry system.

Again, in the sample the responses from men and women do not seem to be very different. Only women tend to answer that the girl's parents suffer most from the dowry system, while men think that the girl's father suffers most. (See Figure 18.)

Figure 18.

who suffers most under the dowry system



Who intends to pay dowry

Although the majority of those interviewed thought the dowry system a deplorable element in society, 63% of the respondents in the experimental village and 60% in the control village intended to pay a dowry for their daughter's marriage (Table XXXVII, Appendix A).

The reasons they gave for intending to do so were as follows: (in decreasing order of frequency) "if you don't the girl won't get married", "the girl stays happy/the in-laws will treat her well", "everyone has to give nowadays", "if you don't give, the in-laws won't keep her".

Basically, most people who intend to give dowry do this because they feel forced to or because they feel the girl would suffer if they do not. Only very infrequently someone mentioned that they would give dowry because they particularly wanted to. The reason people gave for not intending to pay a

dowry was mostly "we have no money". Only two people mentioned that they would not pay out of principle ("it is a sin", "it is against the law"). (For further details see Table XXXVII, Appendix A).

Whose son will demand dowry

In the experimental village 80% of the respondents did not think that their son would demand a dowry, and only 8% thought that their son definitely would demand one. Similarly, in the control village also 80% thought their son would not demand a dowry and 11% thought he would certainly demand one.

Again, there was no remarkable difference between the answers by men and women and by Muslims and Hindus. (See Table XXXVIII, Appendix A).

Should the system be changed

In both the experimental village and the control village the vast majority of those interviewed thought that the dowry system should be changed (90% in experimental and 80% in control). This illustrates that the villagers do not like the current system of dowry (Table XXXIX, Appendix A).

Of the few people that thought that the dowry system was not bad, the majority did think that current dowry prices were too high.

The actual levels of dowry people paid or received over the years

In the scattergrams 1 and 2 (Appendix B) the actual amount of dowry is presented in a scattergram for both the villages. (The data are also listed in Table XXXIV, Appendix A). From the scattergrams it can be concluded that on the whole very few people pay any dowry at all, since nearly all the dots are on the 0-line. The control village has more of the dots above the 0-line, meaning that the incidence of paying dowry is higher there. The sample used for this research is not large enough to draw any firm conclusions concerning whether incidence and level of dowry payment is on the increase.

Conclusion

The development dimension of DOWRY was researched by enquiring after various aspects: (i) how the dowry custom was practised, (ii) whether the respondents thought it had changed over the years and how, (iii) the respondents' attitude to dowry, (iv) whom the respondents thought was most affected by dowry, (v) whether the respondents intended to pay dowry, and finally (vi) whether the respondents thought that the system ought be changed. The way this development dimension was researched was a rather exhaustive method and a conclusiveness level of 2 has been given.

Again, in terms of women's emancipation, DOWRY is an important development dimension, and an importance level of 3 has been given.

In the method in which the development dimension of DOWRY was researched here, the main difficulty was expressing the data in numerical form. Otherwise, the indicators used here were straightforward to use. It is possible to replicate the above indicators in another study. The development dimension of DOWRY is therefore very useful for assessing social development.

Numerical construction of the indicator

From Table XXXV (Appendix A) one can learn both what the incidence is of people thinking dowry bad and for what type of reasons they think it is or is not bad. These reasons are divided into three categories of answers, those that are 'socially developed', those that are 'neutral' and those that are 'traditional', similar to the development dimensions of CONCEPT OF POWER, and DIVORCE.

The score derived from this table is the average between the score on the incidence of people answering that they think dowry bad and the score on the incidence of people giving an answer that is 'socially developed' to why they think dowry bad, plus 0.5 times the incidence of people giving an answer that is 'neutral'.

	EXPERIMENTAL	CONTROL
Incidence of thinking dowry bad (Table XXXV, Appendix A)	0.667	0.818
Incidence of giving a 'socially developed' answer + .5 times neutral answers (Table XXXV)	0.203 —	0.409 —
Average between the above two scores	0.463	0.625

Table XXXVI (Appendix A) presents whom the respondents thought was hardest hit by the dowry system. NGOs would like to see that the respondents acknowledge that the dowry system primarily harms women. Therefore, the score derived from this question is the incidence of people answering that they think that it is women/girls who are affected worst.

	EXPERIMENTAL	CONTROL
Score = incidence of "women/girls are affected most" answers (Table XXXVI, Appendix A)	0.259	0.267

Table XXXVII (Appendix A) presents the data found when the respondents were asked whether they would pay dowry for their daughter and why. NGOs would like people to answer that they would not pay dowry. The incidence of this equals the score:

	EXPERIMENTAL	CONTROL
Score = people answering "I would not pay dowry" (Table XXXVII, Appendix A)	0.293	0.395

Table XXXIX (Appendix A) presents the data obtained when the respondents were asked whether the dowry system should be changed or not. NGOs would like to see people saying "yes, it should be changed". So the score here will be the incidence of people answering "yes".

	EXPERIMENTAL	CONTROL
Incidence of "yes" answer (table XXXIX)	0.907	0.841

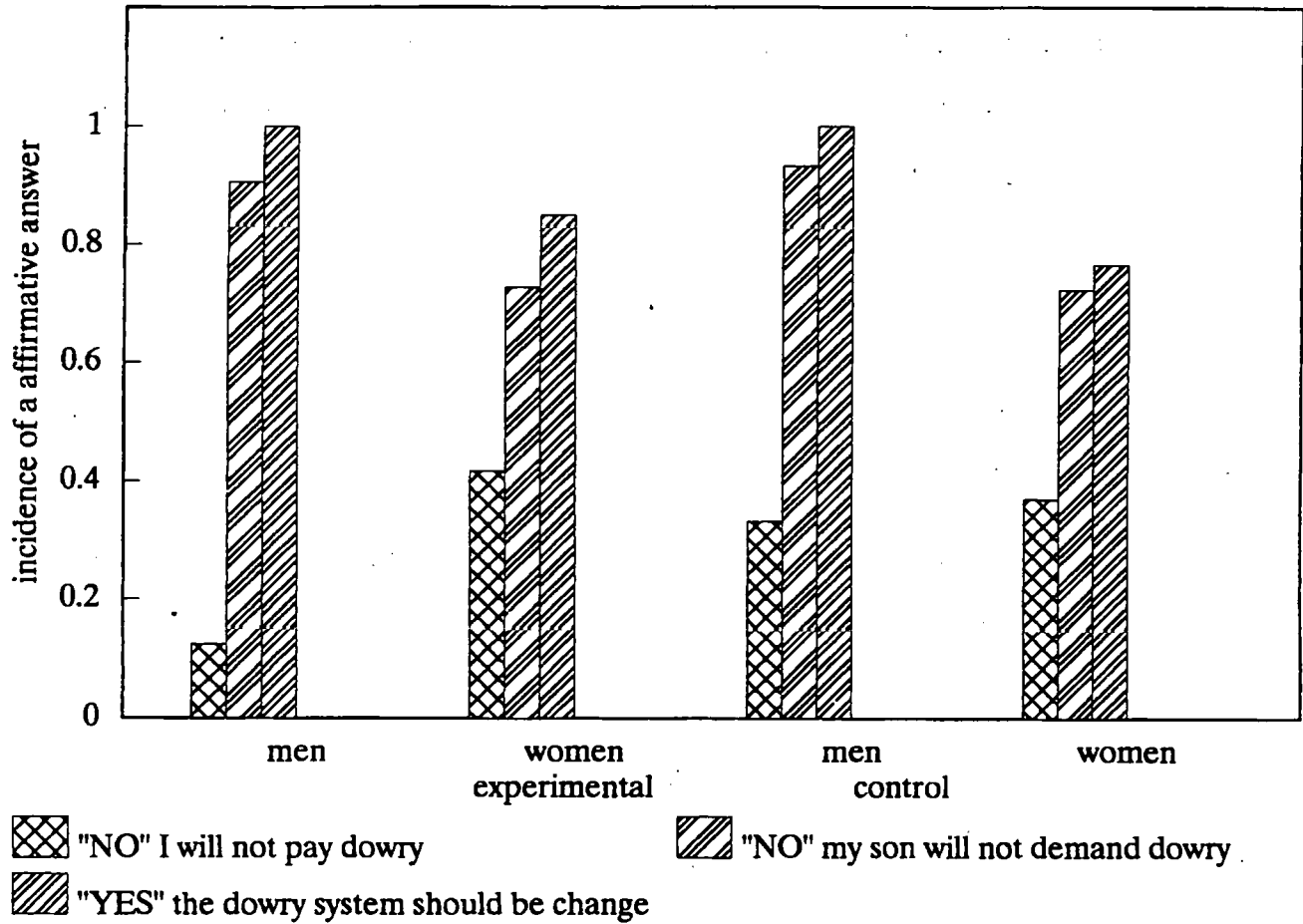
Average of Tables concerning dowry (all were given equal weight) :

	EXPERIMENTAL	CONTROL
AVERAGE	0.480	0.532

These scores are visually presented in Figure 19.

Figure 19.

opinions on dowry



PURDAH

Introduction

'Purdah' means literally 'the veil'. In practice it refers to an Islamic code of behaviour for women, under which women have to dress modestly in front of men, hiding their hair, figure and sometimes face and women are not to go out at all or at least a lot less than men. To be able to

observe the 'purdah' rules implies that one has to severely restrict one's activities. A woman's potential contribution to the household's production is curtailed if she observes 'purdah'. Many see it as a status symbol if the women in a household follow the 'purdah' code of behaviour.

Even though many women in Bangladesh cannot afford to forego their production power outside the 'bari'³⁴, they will still be conscious about 'purdah' and try to follow some substitute rules like not breastfeeding in front of men, not talking to male outsiders and keeping their hair covered and reducing their mobility as much as possible.

The 'purdah' system restricts women's freedom and ensures that women are dependent on men. Therefore, it is a good development dimension for emancipation with the lower the level of 'purdah', the higher the level of emancipation.

The level of PURDAH reflects the level of freedom women have. Beside that freedom as such is a desirable good, freedom is also essential for women's empowerment to be attained. Therefore, the development dimension of PURDAH concerns both practical and strategic gender needs.

Burkah

From Table XXXXI (Appendix A) one learns that wearing a 'burkah', a garment essential to wear in front of men when strictly observing 'purdah', is far more common amongst women in the control village than in the experimental village. 30% of the control village respondents answered that they wear one, and only 6% in the experimental village. To establish whether this is due to BRAC's liberalizing influence, the women were also asked whether they used to wear a 'burkah' before, as is presented in Table XXXXII (Appendix A). Comparing the two tables it becomes clear that only one woman, in the control village, has dispensed with the 'burkah', and none in the experimental village. So, the lower incidence of wearing 'burkah' must have existed for some time and is not attributable to the BRAC programme.

³⁴ 'bari' means the confines of a joint family

From Table XXXXIII (Appendix A) one can analyse whether there is an increasing or decreasing trend of wearing 'burkah' between the generations. This table shows that basically, if the older generation does not wear one, neither does the younger generation, with only one case in the experimental village where the mother does not wear 'burkah' and both the daughter and daughter-in-law do wear one. In the control village there is one case of the mother and daughter-in-law wearing 'burkah' and not the daughter. On the whole there has been hardly any change over the years as regarding to the incidence of women wearing 'burkah'.

Mobility

Women's mobility is also an important aspect of 'purdah'. By comparing the difference between men's and women's mobility in both study areas, can serve as a method to establish the levels of emancipation.

Many tables have been constructed to give an idea of how mobile villagers are, to be able to make a comparison between women and men.

The study area Jessore is a liberal area for Bangladeshi standards. All the same 'purdah' in a diluted form is present with women going out much less than men.

Where did they go: The information presented in Table XXXXIV to XXXXVII (Appendix A) it becomes apparent that men go out more than women. In particular it is not common for women to go to the market and to work on the field. This confirms what can be read in the literature.

From Table XXXXIV (Appendix A) it is clear that men go out far more than women. This is especially so in the control village where the incidence of women not going out on the day of the interview was 50% while it was only 29% in the experimental village. Of those women that had left their 'bari' on the day before their interview, 32% had gone to the house next door in the experimental village, while it was 38% in the control village.

In Bangladesh, if a woman goes to work on the field, for instance to transplant rice, it is as if she has shed all 'purdah' rules. It is considered far more liberated to work on the field than to have your hair uncovered. In the experimental village 4 out of the 31 women interviewees had gone to work on the field, while only 2 out of the 26 interviewees in the control village had gone to do that. There is a slight indication that the women in the experimental village observe less 'purdah'.

The same conclusion can be drawn from Table XXXV (Appendix A) which presents the data on people going out or not on the day of the interview. The fact that here men were very likely to be staying in is deceptive. It was due to the fact that men are hard to get hold of during the day that most men were interviewed very early in the morning, so that day they had not yet gone out. This is why the information has been considered to be unreliable and is not taken up in the construction of the numerical indicator.

Reasons for going out: The Tables XXXVI and XXXVII (Appendix A) give a picture of what sort of reasons people will leave their homestead for. The majority of women leave their homestead for "visiting". After that "cow and goat rearing" is most common. Next most common errand amongst women is "collecting water/washing" and "studying".

The incidence of goat rearing was lower in the control village but on the other hand, some women went fishing in the control village, which are in terms of 'purdah' comparable activities.

Men tend to leave their 'bari' mostly for work related activities like "work on the field", "doing business", "working as an employee", "inspecting crops".

Going shopping in the 'bazar'; or buying medicine is an activity nearly exclusively undertaken by men. The 'bazar' or the market in Bangladesh is very much a man's world and women who go shopping have shed all 'purdah' rules.

Going out with whom: Beside that men going out more frequently, they are also more likely to go out on their own, with nearly all men going out unaccompanied. (See Table XXXVIII and XXXIX,

Appendix A). All the same, most of the women that had gone outside their 'bari' also went on their own, 78% in the experimental and 70% in the control village.

The farther away women go from their home the more likely they are to go accompanied by someone. This is evident from Table L (Appendix A). This table presents "Whether respondents went on their own or with someone when they last went outside their village". In both study areas the men were far more likely to leave their village unaccompanied than not, with 80% in the experimental village going on their own and 86% in the control. Women on the contrary were far more likely to go with someone when leaving their village, with only 18% in the experimental village and 20% in the control village going out unaccompanied.

Tables XXXXVIII, XXXXIX and L (Appendix A) also inform us that the village women will mostly be accompanied by one of their children or a sister, i.e. close relatives. For going outside the village most of the accompanied women had their husbands to go with them. Second most common was for women to go outside their village with friends, other group-members, or class-mates, especially in the experimental village.

Incidence of going outside the village: Men go outside their village far more often than women in both study areas. On average men leave their village every 7.4 days (experiment) or 10.4 days (control). Women in the control village only leave their village every 46 days, while women respondents in the experimental village leave theirs only every 93 days, or about 4 times a year, indicating that in the programme village the women have a lower mobility than in the control village. (See Table LI, Appendix A). The location of the two villages makes comparison here difficult. The experimental village was located virtually on the main road where there was a small market place. So if women went to the bazar it was not seen as leaving the village. The control village on the other hand, was a 10 minute walk removed from a major market place, which might even have been called a town. Women going to the market there was seen as them leaving the village.

How far outside the village: In Table LII (Appendix A) is presented how far the respondents went when they last left their village. Here no remarkable difference in level of mobility between men

and women can be observed.

Reasons for going outside the village: When going outside their village, women most often did this for going visiting, just as they go outside their 'bari' mostly for visiting. In the experimental village the interviews were done a few weeks after general elections and so in that village many women had left their village last for going voting. In the control village the interviews were done much later and that is why none seemed to have gone voting there, because they had last left their village for other reasons. In the experimental village it was quite common for women to go and visit the BRAC office or the BRDB³⁵ office. In both study areas women quite often answered that they had gone to see the doctor's or went to buy medicine when they last left their village. (See Table LIII, Appendix A).

The women respondents were asked separately what kind of errands they would leave their 'bari' for in general. More than half said they would go outside their homestead to do work, 68% in the experimental village and 62% in the control village. Very few of the respondents claimed to ever go out to do shopping, especially in the experimental village where only 2 out of 26 answered they would go out to do the shopping. In both study areas virtually all women respondents would go out for socializing. Other reasons for going out that the women respondents volunteered was going to see the doctor, visit BRAC office, and studying, confirming what has already been described above (Table LIV, Appendix A).

In both villages nearly all the women said that their husband approved of them going out. (Only two husbands in the control village did not approve.) (Table LV, Appendix A).

Whether girls have more freedom nowadays: Another question posed to women that has been asked in order to find out whether women's mobility is going up as compared to the last generation, was "Do you think that your daughter has more freedom than you had at her age?" Here, 33% of the respondents in the experimental village thought this was not so and 58% in the control village. Those who

³⁵ BRDB stands for Bangladesh Rural Development Board

thought their daughter did have more freedom named reasons for this like "times are better for girls now/my parents did not let me" and "my daughter goes to school". In the control village women most commonly considered the TV the source for their daughter's greater freedom³⁶. (See Table LVI, Appendix A.)

From the fact that so much more women wear and always used to wear 'burkah', one can conclude that the control village has a more conservative attitude towards women's freedom. There is definitely a higher level of mobility amongst the women living in the programme village.

Case study 4

A conversation held with a male group member who was not included in the sample might illustrate how conservative many group members' attitude is towards women's freedom.

The married eldest daughter of a very large and fairly liberal household begged us to please give her the 'honour' of paying a visit to her house. After arriving at her home we hardly had a chance to talk to her because her husband was dominating the conversation. She was not a group member but seemed to me the type to have liked to be a member. Every time I asked why she had not joined BRAC she would say that she did not want to; it was bad for women.

When we asked her husband why his wife had not joined the BRAC group, it turned out that he would not let her be a member. When asked he gave many reasons. "Women should not go out because that is against the Islam and if she joins the group she will have to go out a lot. Women going out working would not bring any good because when men go out working they can save money and then 'take' a wife and provide for her. Women cannot take the initiative for a marriage so there is no use in them working. And anyway, where will the world go if women start doing men's work."

³⁶ In a Bangladeshi village people who own a TV will usually let other villagers, especially children, come and watch theirs.

Conclusion

The development dimension of PURDAH was assessed through enquiring after three aspects of this Islamic code of behaviour for women. Firstly, the incidence of women wearing 'burkah', the externally most obvious sign of 'purdah', was recorded. Secondly, the level of mobility of men and women were researched and thirdly, the types of activities that were open to women were recorded. One would expect that a bias might have occurred in the answers to the question "Do you wear 'burkah'?", because women might want to portray themselves as more religious than they are. The fact that most women stated that they do not wear 'burkah' implies that most women must have truthfully answered this question.

A recall period of only 24 hours was used, meaning that bias due to memory loss must have been minimal. Only for the question of "When did you last leave your village?" was, usually, a longer recall period required. This was regarded justified because leaving the village is such an event, in particular for women, people do not easily forget it even if it might have been a few months ago. The way this research recorded the type of activities that were open to women, was by asking the respondents what types of work they performed. This question will be likely to evoke an answer that stems from ideological sources rather than facts. However, data can be cross-checked with the results from another question "What did you go out for today and yesterday?", a conclusiveness level of 3 has been given.

'Purdah' in a predominantly Muslim country is a very important development dimension in terms of women's emancipation because if 'purdah' is strictly observed there is little chance that women will ever be equal to men in virtually any field, 'purdah' preventing women from going outside the house, interacting with men, performing many types of work and wearing practical and comfortable clothes. An importance level of 3 has been given.

The development dimension of 'PURDAH' is very useful for assessing social development. Effectively, the method for investigating into this development dimension did not have any drawbacks. It was quick and straightforward to collect the data. It was easy to process the data into a numeric form

as mentioned above. The method used here can be replicated in another study under different circumstances. In comparison to other development dimension, for this development dimension probably more aspects than strictly necessary were researched here. Certainly less than the sixteen tables concerning PURDAH would have sufficed.

Numerical construction of the indicator

NGOs would like to see that women stop observing 'purdah'-rules because 'purdah' is one of the factors that keeps women subordinated, they argue. Therefore, the fewer people wearing 'burkah', the better. Table XXXXI (Appendix A) presents what the incidence is of people wearing 'burkah'. The score is the incidence of people not wearing 'burkah', which was considered to be socially developed. The incidence of this was:

	EXPERIMENTAL	CONTROL
Incidence of women not wearing 'burkah' (Table XXXXI)	0.939	0.700 (weight of 1)

When looking at mobility, another aspect of 'purdah', NGOs would like to see that women's mobility is as high as men's mobility. Therefore, the score derived from Table XXXXIV (Appendix A) is

$$\frac{\text{incidence of women going out}}{\text{incidence of men going out}}$$

Women are very likely to answer that they went out to visit the next-door 'bari'. When visiting next door, one does not really shed 'purdah' rules, so this type of mobility has been considered to be only 50% going out.

	EXPERIMENTAL	CONTROL
Women's mobility relative to men's mobility (day before the interview) (Table XXXXIV)	0.597	0.438 (weight of 2)

Table XXXXVI (Appendix A) presents what people went out for on the day before the interview. NGOs

would like to see that women do not only go out for typical women's errands like collecting water but also for more traditionally men's tasks like shopping in the market. Therefore, the score derived from this table is the incidence of women going out on non-traditional errands:

	EXPERIMENTAL	CONTROL	
Incidence of women going out on non-traditional outings (day before interview) (Table XXXXVI)	0.190	0.357	(weight of 2)
Incidence of women going out on non-traditional outings (day of interview) (Table XXXXVII)	0.300	0.143	(weight of 1)

Table LI (Appendix A) presents how long it has been since the respondents went outside their village. It can be considered 'socially developed' when women leave their village as often as men as this would be evidence of women's mobility being as high as men's.

So the score for this phenomenon is constructed in a similar fashion as with 'going out'. It is calculated as follows:

$$\frac{\text{average time since male respondents left village}}{\text{average time since female respondents left village}}$$

$$\text{In experimental: } \frac{7.4 \text{ days}}{93 \text{ days}} = 0.070$$

$$\text{In control: } \frac{10.4 \text{ days}}{46 \text{ days}} = 0.226 \quad (\text{weight of 1})$$

Table LII (Appendix A) presents how far from their village the respondents went when they last left their village. Travel time was used as a proxy for distance. It would also be 'socially developed' when women would go as far as men do and so the score derived from this table is

$$\frac{\text{average travel time in minutes women went out}}{\text{average travel time in minutes men went out}}$$

	EXPERIMENTAL	CONTROL	
Women's mobility relative to men's in terms of distance travelled when leaving village last (Table LII)	0.933	0.874	(weight of 1)

Table LIII (Appendix A) presents data concerning what reasons people went outside their village for. The data has been subdivided into what places women visit traditionally and places that women do not traditionally visit. It can be seen as 'socially developed' if women break free from 'purdah' rules and therefore would like to see them going places they do not traditionally visit. The incidence of women visiting non-traditional places is therefore the score:

	EXPERIMENTAL	CONTROL
Incidence of women visiting non-traditional places (Table LIII)	0.412	0.310 (weight of 1)
Incidence of women visiting non-traditional places divided by incidence of men visiting such places (Table LIII)	$\left(\frac{0.576}{0.714} \right)$ = 0.807	$\left(\frac{0.807}{0.385} \right)$ (weight of 1) = 2.096

Another score derived from this table is the incidence of women visiting non-traditional places divided by the incidence of men visiting such places.

Table LIV (Appendix A) presents what type of activities women say they generally do leave their 'bari' for. NGOs would like to see that every woman will leave her 'bari' for the three activities mentioned. Therefore, the score derived from this table is the average of the incidence of women answering "Yes, I would leave my 'bari' for such an activity".

	EXPERIMENTAL	CONTROL
Work: YES	0.679	0.643
Marketing: YES	0.071	0.179
Socialising: YES	1.000	0.964
Average the three destinations	0.583	0.595 (weight of 1)

Table LV (Appendix A) presents the incidence of the husband approving of women leaving their 'bari'. The higher such an incidence, the better, in terms of social development. So this incidence is the score.

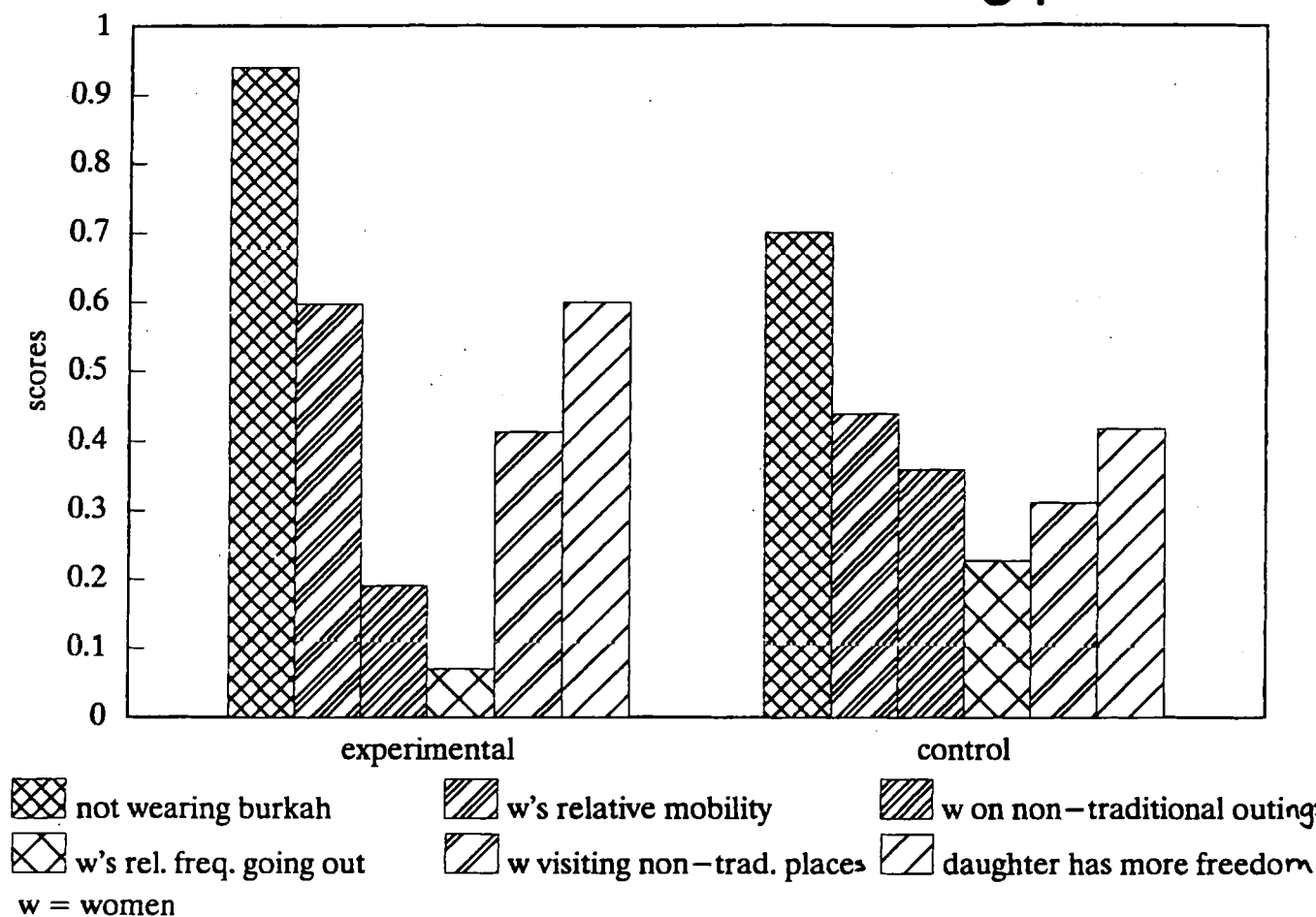
	EXPERIMENTAL	CONTROL
Incidence of husband approving (Table LV)	1.0	0.900 (weight of 1)

Table LVI (Appendix A) presents data obtained as answers to the question: "Does your daughter go out more than you did when you were young" and if 'yes', "why?" NGOs would appreciate if girls now have more freedom than the last generation had. So the incidence of a "yes" answer is the score obtained from this table.

	EXPERIMENTAL	CONTROL
Incidence of people answering that their daughter has now more freedom than they had (Table LVI)	0.600	0.417 (weight of 1)
Weighted score of all 'purdah' related tables: (Tables XXXXI to LVI)	0.588	0.589

In the below Figure some of these scores obtained by the two villages are visually presented.

Figure 20. **overview of scores concerning purdah**



ATTITUDE TO SEXUAL VIOLENCE

Introduction

A mother will tell her daughter "If you lose your 'ijath'³⁷, you have lost everything." When a girl gets sexually violated, she does lose her 'ijath'.

The very sensitive issue of sexual violation, or rape, was discussed with all the respondents except for girls. For the pre-testing of the questionnaires member of personnel of well-to-do families in Dhaka were interviewed. These people were posed the additional question of whether they thought that rape was more common in the village or in the towns. To my surprise they all responded that it was

³⁷ 'Ijath' means a woman's honour

far more likely to happen in the village. When a senior researcher at BRAC was asked in what type of circumstances women get raped, he explained that it would usually be a richer and more powerful villager, married or unmarried, taking advantage of a poorer girl who might either work for him or just be from one of the families dependent on him for work or loans.

It should be kept in mind, when analysing the respondents' answers, that they are probably imagining a situation where the rapist is a wealthy powerful villager and the victim a young woman from a poor background.

ATTITUDE TO SEXUAL VIOLENCE is a development dimension describing what worth women have in society. Women's worth having increased is a good as such to women and it will also be an aid to women's empowerment. Therefore, the development dimension of ATTITUDE TO SEXUAL VIOLENCE concerns both practical and strategic gender needs.

What people would do

The first question asked concerning this violence, was "What would you do in case your daughter gets raped?/In case you had a daughter what would you do if she got raped?" of which the results are presented in Table LVII (Appendix A). Of course, it would be very courageous of a poor family to call a 'shalish' against someone who is their own patron. If they do call a 'shalish', it reflects that they are concerned about women's rights and that they want to do something against men violating women's rights. This should be considered to be emancipatory thinking. In the experimental village 60% of the respondents answered that they would call a 'shalish' or file a case and only 50% in the control would do that. When looking at the answers of men and women separately, it becomes evident that the incidence of men wanting to call a 'shalish' is much higher than women wanting to do so. Around three quarters of male respondents in both study areas said that they would call a 'shalish'. Women in the experimental village, though less likely than men of their village to want a 'shalish', are considerably more likely to want one than the women in the control.

Those who would not want to call a 'shalish' were most likely to do "nothing", meaning that they

would be too scared both to let such a shameful fact about their daughter be known to others and/or to go against a powerful person. Relatively more people in the control village indicated they would do nothing than in the experimental village.

The next most common answer, much more common in the experimental village, was "I will marry her off quickly/marry her off" (not exactly an opinion indicating an enlightened attitude towards women).

Other things people said they would do was "Tell your daughter to be more careful" or "marry her off to the offender." All these answers were given nearly exclusively by women. This again indicating that men seemingly are more respectful of women's rights on this issue than women themselves.

One Hindu woman summed up the problem: "We are so powerless, we are Hindu, a 'shalish' will be decided in favour of the attacker. What CAN we do? We will just cry and remember it."

Whether people will talk about it to others

The respondents were also asked whether they would hush the matter up in case their daughter was sexually violated or whether they would talk about it to others. The answer to this question should shed some light on whether it was of utmost importance to them to keep up the pretence that the daughter is still 'pure'.

In Bangladesh society more or less a precondition for marriage is for a girl to be a virgin. Most see marriage as the main goal in life for women. Many parents will think that letting be known the fact that the girl is no longer a virgin is a too high price to pay. Despite this, 65% of the respondents in the experimental village and 53% in the control thought that they would not hush the matter up. This shows, beside a more relaxed attitude towards virginity, that they must think women's rights important. Again, more women feel that the matter should not leaked out to other people, possibly indicating that men are less hung up about their daughters virginity and more concerned about justice (Table LVIII, Appendix A). However, alternatively, you can also interpret it as them being more infuriated or less resigned.

Will people marry their daughter off more quickly

Another issue that parents have to consider if their daughter is sexually violated, is whether they would immediately try to marry her off, now that she has lost her virginity, or whether they should just wait until she has come to be of normal marriage age. More than half the respondents in all groups answered that they would try to marry her off more quickly, with an incidence of 71% in experiment and 72% in the control answering in the affirmative. As with all questions concerning this issue, women are more likely to stick to the traditional action of wanting her daughter married soon, in both study areas (Table LVIX, Appendix A).

Will people consider marrying their daughter to the offender

When it comes to the issue of whether the parents would be willing to marry the daughter off to the offender, one should keep in mind that a villager thinks of a rapist as a wealthy man, as mentioned above. Of course, it must be tempting to a poor villager if he/she can have their daughter wedded to a rich powerful villager, especially as it will be problematic to find a partner anyway. Despite this, the villagers had strong principles against this, especially in the programme village. Only 12% in the programme village and 32% in the control village said that they would consider the offender as a candidate husband for their daughter. The women in the programme village were particularly principled with only 6% willing to consider the offender as their daughter's spouse (Table LX, Appendix A).

Conclusion

What attitude to sexual violence the respondents had, was researched through five questions asking what people would do if they had a daughter and she would get raped. If people themselves did not mention, for instance, whether they would file a case, they were specifically asked.

Of course it is hard to imagine what one would do in such circumstances and, unless one has been through it, one can only answer what one thinks one ought to do, so their answers are the result of

ideology. Ideally, the issue of sexual violence would be researched through studying actual cases of such an offence and people's reactions and actions. This issue is too sensitive for a relative short study as this one. A very high level of trust would be required to get people to talk honestly about such an event. Such trust would need months to establish. In addition, the sample size would have been very small if only actual cases were studied. For these reasons, how people would act ideologically has served as a proxy.

The conclusiveness of this development dimension depends entirely on people's honesty which might have been biased due to the fact that nearly no-one was interviewed on their own. All the same, the answers people gave were very diverse and there did not seem to be any agreement on what one ought to answer. It can be taken as a fairly unbiased way of researching this issue and a conclusiveness level of 2 has been given.

In terms of women's rights, attitude to sexual violence is fairly important and an importance level of 2 has been given even though sexual violence is rare.

The results accrued from the investigation into the development dimension ATTITUDE TO SEXUAL VIOLENCE was very interesting and conclusive. Collecting the data was surprisingly easy, and expressing the results in a numerical form straightforward. All the same, this development dimension will not necessarily be suitable to be replicated in other studies. If the study would have a larger sample than this one had, it would be mind-bothering for the person collecting the data to repeatedly having to ask the same unappetising questions. As well, the questions asked for this issue came right at the end of a rather lengthy interview. The questions would only be viable at the end of a similarly long conversation.

The development dimension of ATTITUDE TO SEXUAL VIOLENCE is as such suitable for investigating social development but should be used with caution.

A very prominent feature about the data presented in Tables LVII to LX (Appendix A) is that in all cases but one, women give the more traditional answers. This might be because women imagine

themselves in the place of their daughter and might prioritize their daughter's well-being to principles. This theory holds when looking at Table LX (Appendix A) where women tend to give the more liberal reply and mostly say that they would refuse to consider the rape offender as a potential husband. Here it would probably be in the girl's best interest to find another husband rather than someone who is so obviously so aggressive as to have sexually violated her.

The sad thing is that in the issue of rape, that what is in the victim's best interest, is not in the long term interest of women as a whole. Women are the victims of rape but it are also women who delay something being done about it.

Numerical construction of the indicator

All questions asked concerning sexual violence was to analyse what people's attitude to this phenomenon was, this attitude being an indicator of what value women have.

Table LVII (Appendix A) presents what the respondents said they would do in case their daughter got raped. The answers have been split up in those that were 'socially developed', those that were 'neutral' and those that were 'traditional'. The score derived from this is the incidence of people giving a 'socially developed' answer plus half the incidence of people giving a 'neutral' answer.

	EXPERIMENTAL	CONTROL
Incidence of 'socially developed' answers + 0.5 x 'neutral' answers (Table LVII)	0.657	0.579

It should be seen as a 'socially developed' answer for people to answer "yes" to the question "Will you tell others in case your daughter got raped?" because openness will help people to address the problem of rape and getting the offenders punished. Therefore, the incidence of people answering "yes" is the score obtained from Table LVIII (Appendix A):

	EXPERIMENTAL	CONTROL
Incidence of a "yes" answer (TABLE LVIII)	0.647	0.442

Table LVIX (Appendix A) presents the respondents' answers to the question "Will you marry your daughter off more quickly if she gets raped?" It would be more socially developed when people answer "no" to this question. So the score obtained from this table is the incidence of people answering "No".

	EXPERIMENTAL	CONTROL
Incidence of a "no" answer (TABLE LIX)	0.286	0.278

The answer to the question "Would you marry your daughter to her rape offender?" are presented in Table LX (Appendix A). NGOs would like to see people answering squarely "No" to this question, so the incidence of "No" answers is the score:

	EXPERIMENTAL	CONTROL
Incidence of a "No" answer (TABLE LX)	0.608	0.622

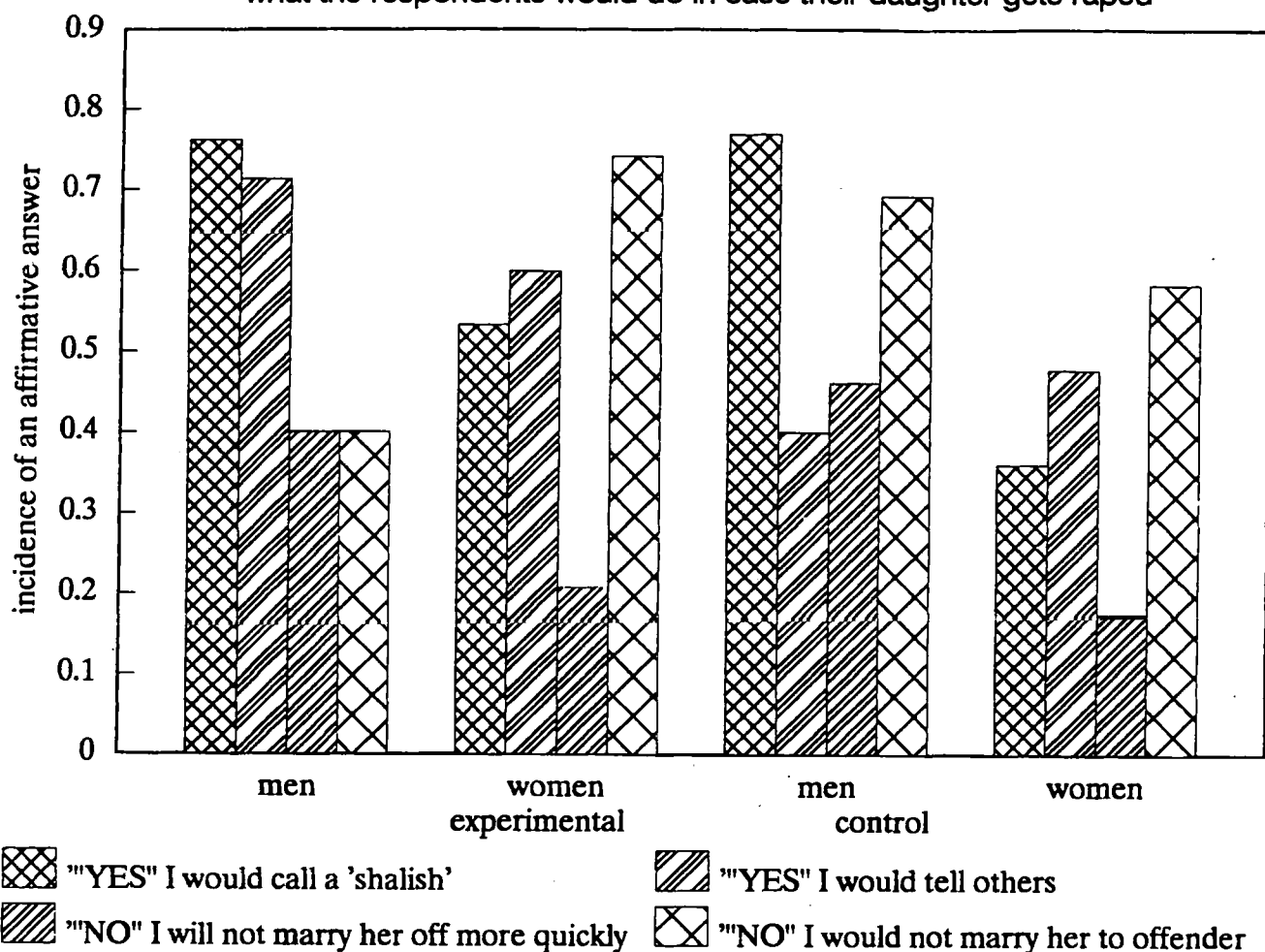
Average of all tables
related to ATTITUDE TO
SEXUAL VIOLENCE:

0.550	0.480
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Some of the scores obtained by the two villages are visually presented in Figure 21 below.

Figure 21.

what the respondents would do in case their daughter gets raped



BOY PREFERENCE

Introduction

A phenomenon common in Bangladesh is the preference for boys rather than girls as off-spring.

Amongst Muslims, the mosque will only read prayers when a boy is born.

Often parents will be disappointed to hear that they had a girl. The reason for this, some villagers explained to us, was that girls leave their parents' house to move in with their husband at a young age. Boys usually stay with their parents and they will first contribute to the family's income and later they will support the parents. One villager said "a boy has only one mouth but two hands" and probably girls are seen as having just the mouth. The dowry that girls are often expected to bring, further aggravates preference for sons.

This boy preference negatively affects women in several ways. Because two male off-spring are often seen as essential, women will bear a lot of children, until they get two boys, which physically disadvantages women and will give them a lot more work. Sometimes women are divorced if she bears only daughters. Numerous sources reported that boy preference adversely affects girl children. Girls might be fed less and parents are less likely to take a daughter to see the doctor if she is ill.

BOY PREFERENCE is a development dimension assessing women's worth. It is concerned with both strategic and practical gender needs because as is described, it negatively affects women in a direct material sense and it prevents them from being empowered.

Findings

This boy preference was assessed by asking the respondents whether they would specifically have another child trying to get a son if they only had daughters. The boy preference was greater in the programme village than in the control village, but in both less than half of the respondents said that they thought it essential to have male off-spring. Remarkable is that the female respondents' boy preference is far higher than the male respondents', in particular in the control village where women are seven times more likely to think to need sons than men (Table LXI, Appendix A). One village informant explained to me that it is especially the mother who derives status from having a son. Additionally, women are more likely to be widowed for a number of years of their life. Their plight in widowhood will be better if they have a son to support them.

Conclusion

By enquiring after whether people thought it essential to have sons, the development dimension of BOY PREFERENCE was researched. Ideally, one would research this through a large sample statistically testing whether the propensity to have another child is larger if there are only daughters. Because the sample would not have been large enough, people were asked the magic question³⁸: "Would you try

³⁸ see footnote 18, page 35 for explanation of what a 'magic question' refers to

for a boy, if you had only daughters?" It can be expected that people's answers are biased according to what they think I want to hear. But this bias would be the same in both villages so when the two villages are compared this bias will cancel each other out. A conclusiveness level of 2 was deemed appropriate.

Because the results of the development dimension of BOY PREFERENCE is only based on one question, an importance level of 1 has been given.

In all other respects the method used for investigating into this development dimension was straightforward, quick and easy for assessing social development.

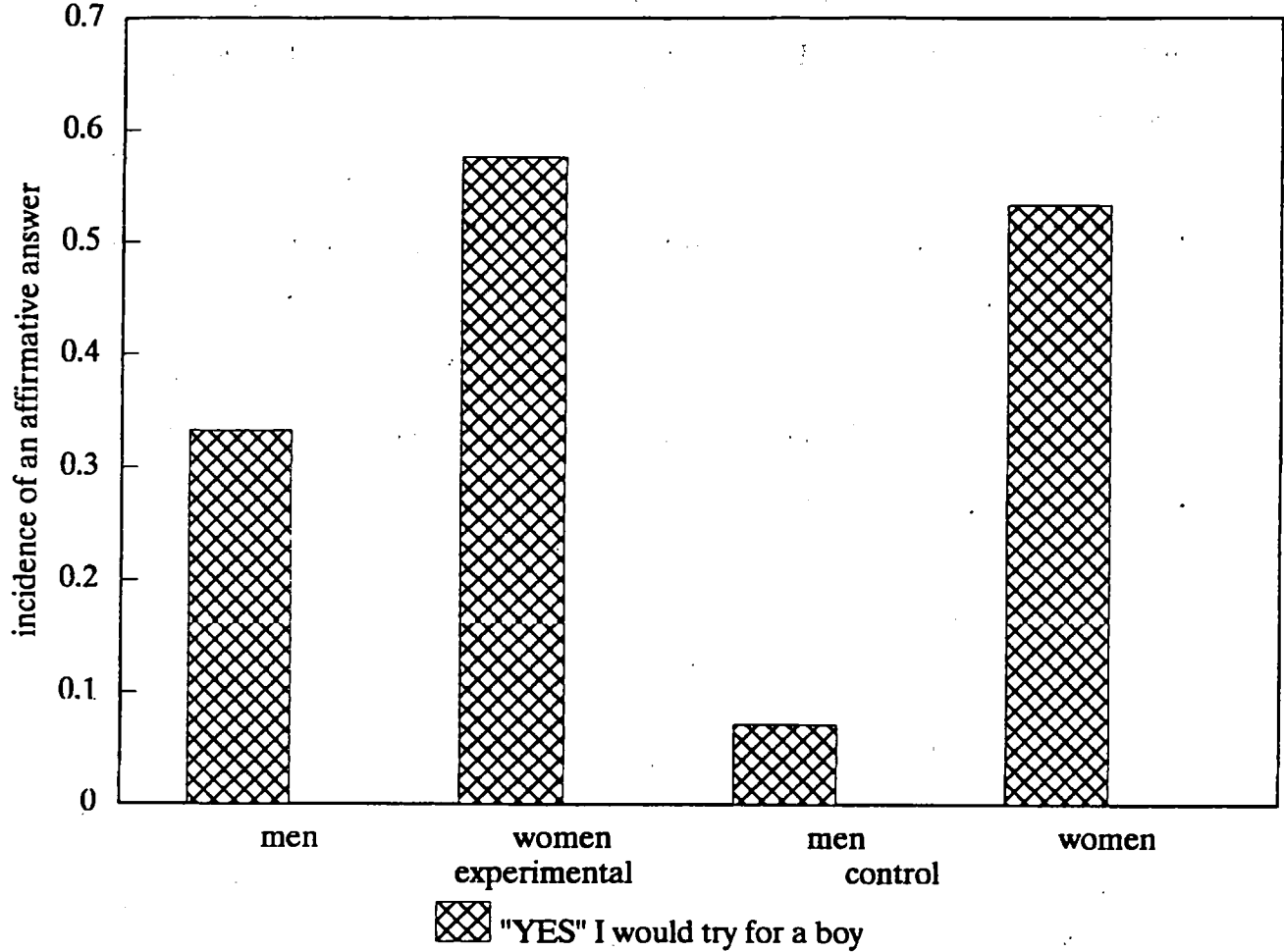
Numerical construction of indicator

The question "Would you try for a boy if you had only daughters?" was asked to obtain information on how common boy preference is amongst the respondents. It would be "socially developed" if the respondents show no preference for boys. Therefore, the score derived from this question is what the incidence of respondents answering "No" is (Table LXI, Appendix A).

	EXPERIMENTAL	CONTROL
Incidence of respondents answering "No, I would not try for a boy if I had only daughters" (TABLE LXI)	0.315	0.568

These scores, split by men and women, are visually presented in the below figure.

Figure 22. respondents answers to Would you try for a boy if you had only daughters?



WIFE BATTERING

Introduction

Wife battering is not an uncommon phenomenon in Bangladesh. Beating is degrading, it hurts and it symbolises men's control over women. It is obvious that it would be desirable for women that wife battering is reduced. If wife battering decreases, one can safely assume that the emancipation level increases.

WIFE BATTERING is a development dimension assessing women's worth which means that it is concerned with strategic gender needs. Additionally, it is painful and in this sense there is clearly a practical gender need for beating to stop.

Incidence of wife beating

From Table LXII (Appendix A) one can see that in more than half the households husbands beat their wives. There is some difference between the control and experimental village; the incidence of a husband beating his wife is higher in the latter (with 64% of the respondents admitting to having been hit by their husband or admitting to having hit their wives) than it is in the former (where this was 54%).

Reasons for wife beating

Table LVIX (Appendix A) presents what reasons the respondents admit to have (been) hit for. By far the most frequently mentioned answer (64% of affirmative answers in the experiment and 36% in the control) was: "When her/my work is not in order". Other reasons mentioned for beating were "fights in the family" and "fights about money". Often people answer that they used to (be) beat(en) when the wife was still very young and could not do her work properly yet. Consequently, if girls' marriage age will go up, the incidence of wife battering might go down.

There are three ways of explaining the high incidence of wife-beating in the intervention village.

- (i) The control village only appeared to have had a lower level of wife beating due to the level of trust and intimacy towards us the researchers, being lower in this village. In this village the respondents might not have liked us to know such intimate facts of their lives.
- (ii) Alternatively, the difference in incidence of wife-beating between the village might be ascribed to the presence of BRAC groups. BRAC might actually have aggravated wife battering. Women go out more if they are BRAC group members and they are more likely to have work outside the household. This might reduce their commitment to their tasks inside the house which could be explained as 'provoking' husband's beating.
- (iii) The most likely explanation for the higher incidence of wife battering in the experimental village is that this is a phenomenon that already existed more in that village than in the control village before BRAC started working there.

The anthropologist Ann Lisbeth Arn orally informed me that in Bangladesh there were vast regional

differences in the level of wife-beating. The only continuity that she thought to have observed was that there was a trade-off between domestic violence and violence amongst the men in the village : if domestic violence was common then violence amongst the men in the village was uncommon and if violence amongst the men in the village was common then domestic violence was uncommon. Arn said that this nearly makes one conclude that men need an outlet for their violence, whether it be inside or outside of the home.

Conclusion

The development dimension of WIFE BATTERING was researched simply by asking people whether they get beaten by their husband if the respondent was a woman or whether they beat their wife, in case of a man. When designing the research, I had expected little from this question, thinking that people would never willingly admit to be beaten or to beat. It turned out to be quite the reverse. Many, in fact the majority, answered that they had been beaten and even men would happily admit to beating, giving reasons for such action like "Because it was necessary" or "She didn't have the food ready". The matter did not appear to be shrouded by shame. Conclusiveness level of 3 has been allotted.

Wife battering is a good development dimension for women's equality or rather inequality to men in their direct environment. Therefore, an importance level of 2 has been given.

The development dimension of WIFE BATTERING was surprisingly useful for assessing social development. People were responsive, the data was easily transformed in numerical data, it was easy to collect the necessary data. As well, the method used here to investigate this development dimension can be replicated in another study.

Numerical construction of the indicator

Table LXII (Appendix A) presents the answers to the question "Does your husband beat you?/Do you beat your wife?" It would testify of a high level of social development if wife battering was non-existent and therefore the score is the incidence of people answering "No":

	EXPERIMENTAL	CONTROL
Incidence of respondents answering "No, I do not beat/No, I am not beaten"	0.354	0.462

(TABLE LXII)

These scores, split by men and women respondents, are visually presented in the below Figure.

Figure 23.

respondents' answers to either of the questions

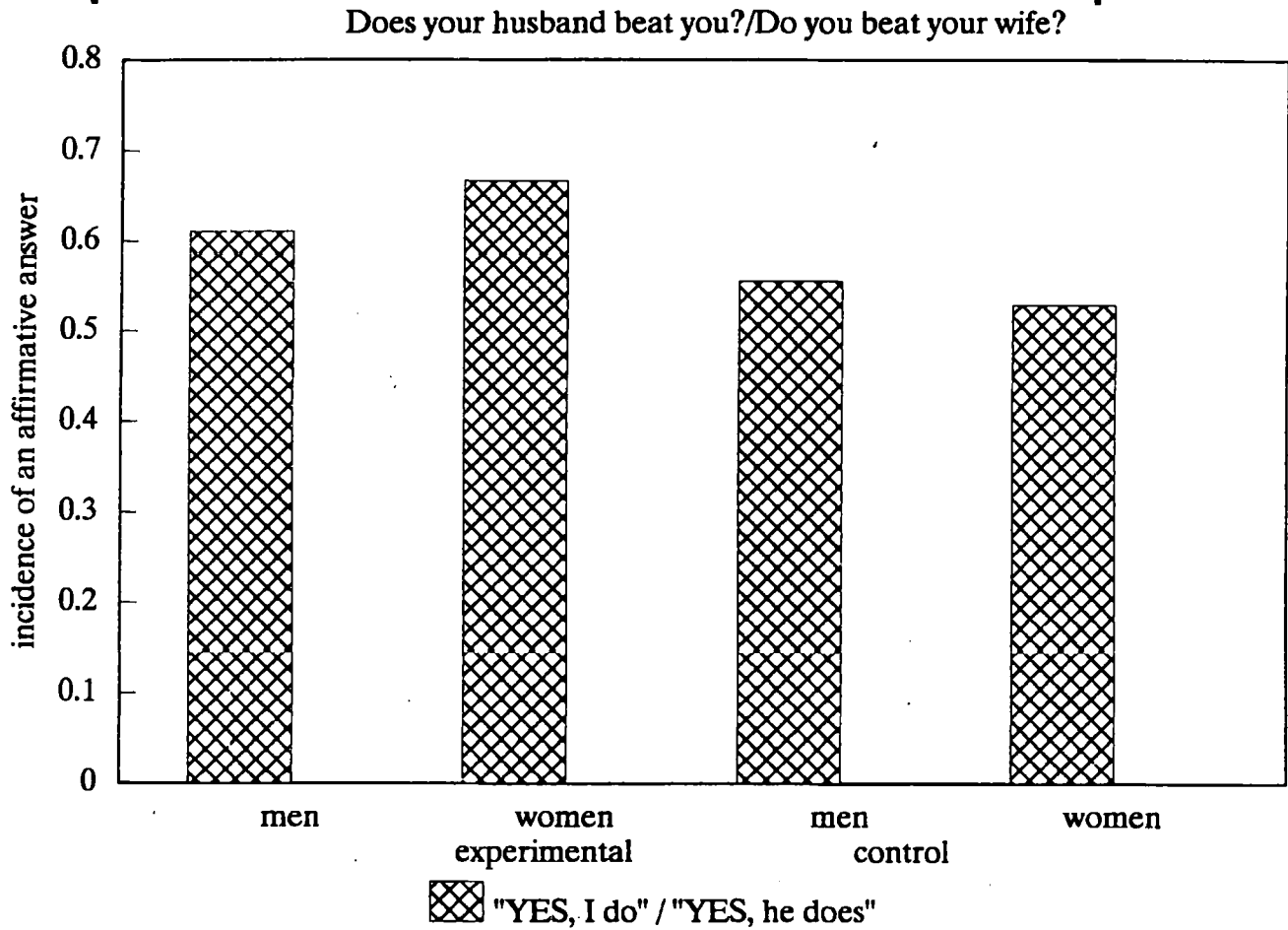


Table LXIII (Appendix A) presents the reasons people gave for why men hit their wife/wives. As wife battering is contrary to social development, answers to this question cannot be subdivided into answers that are 'socially developed' and that are not. Consequently, these data are not included in assessing the indicator.

CONCLUSION ON FINDINGS

On the one hand, this chapter describes the methods used to investigate a variety of development dimensions and discusses the worth of these methods. On the other hand, this chapter presents the actual findings these methods have led to, which serves as an example of how such methods can work out in practice.

One of the main features of the methods used, was that opinions rather than people's behaviour were investigated. This proved to be a very fruitful method. People were more motivated to talk about their opinions and the small sample proved sufficient. As well, through this method, very delicate topics could be discussed without it seeming too prying.

Using quantitative and qualitative methods alongside each other show to be a good research approach. Originally, I had expected to conclude that either qualitative or quantitative methods were most conclusive. In practice, it turned out that they are mutually supportive and they can be used to cross-check conclusions.

Much of the findings for this research are the result of long structured questionnaires with both open-ended and closed questions. Many people have criticized structured questionnaires for being too rigid and not subtle enough a tool to represent reality. The way questionnaires were composed for this study, they more than answered to expectations. This is probably due to the following: (i) the questionnaires covered topics interesting to the respondents; (ii) ample time was taken for each interview so that related (and unrelated) topics also got ample attention; and (iv) all questionnaires were filled out by the researcher.

The scoring of the various development dimensions were summarized in Table 2, printed on page 144. The main conclusion that can be drawn is that the data obtained from the two villages were remarkably similar. The experimental village has a higher score for 9 indicators, the control village has a higher score for 5 indicators. The total weighted score for the experimental village is 0.5216 and the control village is 0.4593. This should be regarded as too small a difference to draw any

conclusions regarding the comparative levels of social development of the two villages. The absence of any clear difference between the villages might indicate that the location of a village plays a greater part in determining the level of social development than the work of a development organisation. Both the villages investigated were considerably more 'socially developed' than is to be expected on the basis of literature about Bangladesh covering these issues. Reasons for this might be that Jessore in general is known as a fairly liberal area and that the two villages were both close by a main road and a market.

From the fact that the BRAC intervention village was close to a much smaller town than the control village, one could, very cautiously, argue that BRAC has brought about social change to the extent that the intervention village was brought to a similar level of social development as a village that was close to a larger centre.

In this chapter it also emerged that people were very interested in changing customs. I was surprised to find that men were more in favour of changing customs than women.

The villagers living in the two research areas had very different taboos and shame than I and many middle-class Bengalis had expected. The amount of land one owned turned out to be a taboo subject while wife-beating was mentioned in casual conversation.

CONCLUSION ON THE METHOD

In this chapter sixteen development dimensions were explored. Some of these methods for assessing programme impact were more practicable, useful or conclusive than others. However, all but one of the development dimensions employed here were considered to have some merit in evaluating programme impact. Only the development dimension of inter-household conflicts, as it was researched here, was rejected, because it was not suitable for use in small samples.

In this chapter, each development dimension has been discussed in a sub-chapter, at the end of which an example³⁹ has been given on how a single numerical indicator could be constructed for this dimension. For each of the fifteen development dimensions a single score has been derived for both the research villages which makes comparison by each development dimension between the villages possible. In order to be able to make a comparison between the two villages taking all the development dimensions into account, these development dimensions need to be allocated relative weights. As is shown in Table 2, the weight given here was derived from the level of 'importance' and the level of 'conclusiveness' of each development dimension. The weight was calculated by adding the level of conclusiveness and the level of importance, which number was divided by the total of the levels of conclusiveness and importance of all the development dimensions.⁴⁰ Through this weighting, each village can be allocated a total score and the two villages can be compared. It was made clear earlier that the actual scoring of the two villages was not useful for assessing the impact of BRAC. Instead, "the objective of the research is to contribute to the debate about evaluation of the effectiveness of the NGO approach in practice in initiating social change with specific emphasis on the emancipation of the disadvantaged womenfolk." Through Table 3 it becomes clear that the method proposed here, indeed makes it possible to evaluate the social aspects of an NGO approach and to score the level of what is called in this research "socially developed".

Since the scoring and the weighing and consequently the final score for each village, depend on choices, it is proposed that any organisation who wants to apply the method of this research, makes a selection of the proposed development dimensions according to its own priorities and in a similar fashion assigns weights.

Additionally, such an organisation might want to include extra development dimensions that were not covered in this research but which are considered important by them. The method applied in this research only illustrates how such an evaluation can be done, and not how it should be done.

³⁹ As is explained on page 43 this construction of the numerical indicators is mainly based on value judgments of the author. However, which these value judgements are, has been made clear in the text.

⁴⁰ This distribution of weight is my choice and in that respect my value judgment. However, another distribution of weights including equal weight to each dimension, would similarly be a value judgment.

or the Why's and What's of NGOs

In this research, I looked at the new NGO approach to development and the success of this approach at addressing gender issues and achieving social development. It is important to know more about this approach. Where does this approach have its origins? How does this approach work? Why did it come about? Whom does it have in mind?

DEVELOPMENT STRATEGIES : TOP-DOWN

or WHERE the NGO approach does not have its origins

The main development paradigms argue on a macro-scale. They have a top-down approach and are production centred.

Modernization theory

The thinking of the 1950s and 1960s focused mainly on the concept of stages of economic growth in which the process of development was viewed as a series of successive stages through which all countries must pass. It was primarily an economic theory of development in which the right quantity and mixture of saving, investment, and foreign aid were all that was necessary to enable Third World nations to proceed along an economic growth path that historically had been followed by the more developed countries. Development thus became synonymous with rapid, aggregate economic growth. (Todaro,1989:p.63)

Maybe the most well-known advocate of this theory is W.W. Rostow, who wrote "The Stages of Economic Growth: a Non-Communist Manifesto" (1960) and who coined the term 'Modernization Theory'.

This line of thought was elaborated in the 1970s by 'theories and patterns of structural change' (Todaro,1989:p.63). This theory sees development as a "sequential process through which the economic, industrial, and institutional structure of an underdeveloped economy is transformed over time to permit new industries to replace traditional agriculture as the engine of economic growth." Its adherents did not see 'increased savings and investment' as a sufficient condition for economic take-off. They should be accompanied by many other changes such as 'transformation of production',

'composition of consumer demand' and changes in socio-economic factors.

In the 1980s this theory of 'patterns of structural change' was succeeded by 'The Neoclassical Counter-Revolution' which finds its roots mostly in the conservative governments that came to power in Western states in the 1980s (Todaro, 1989:p.82).

The central argument of the neoclassical counter-revolution is that underdevelopment results from poor resource allocation due to incorrect pricing policies and to too much state intervention by overly active Third World governments... [Its adherents] argue that it is this very state intervention in economic activity that slows down the pace of economic growth... What is needed, therefore, is not a reform of the international economic system or a restructuring of dualistic developing economies or an increase in foreign aid or attempts to control population growth or a more effective central planning system. Rather, it is simply a matter of promoting free markets and laissez-faire economics within the context of permissive governments that allow the "magic of the marketplace" and the "invisible hand" of market prices to guide resource allocation and stimulate economic development (Todaro, 1989:p.83).

Dependency Theory

In the 1970s a school of thought called the dependency theory emerged. The most radical adherents of this theory claims that "[u]nderdevelopment is [purely] ... an externally induced phenomenon" which cannot be solved simply by internal changes in rates of savings.

... the advocates [of the dependency theory] ... reject the exclusive emphasis on traditional Western economic theories designed to accelerate the growth of GNP as the principal index of development... [They] place more emphasis on international power imbalances and on needed fundamental economic, political, and institutional reforms, both domestic and worldwide. In extreme cases, they call for the outright expropriation of privately owned assets in the expectation that public asset ownership and control will be a more effective means to help eradicate absolute poverty... (Todaro, 1989:p.82)

Production-centred development

In the practical sphere, the modernization theory, in particular in its version of the 1950s and 60s, was translated in a 'production-centred development' approach. This often entailed an active industrialisation policy.

The dominant logic of [this]... era was a production logic and its dominant goals were production-centered. Its values, systems, and methods were geared to the exploitation and manipulation of natural resources to produce an ever-increasing

flow of standardization of goods and services and to the creation of a massified consumer society to absorb them... The rates of growth were considered to automatically translate into corresponding improvements in human well-being. (Korten,1984:p.299)

The above-mentioned three top-down approaches failed to bring about the expected increase in 'human well-being'. Even when rates of growth were impressive, poverty was not necessarily addressed (Korten,1984:p.299).

The NGO movement does not originate from any of these development paradigms.

DEVELOPMENT STRATEGIES : BOTTOM-UP

or WHERE the NGO approach does have its origins

Besides the above described dominant top-down development paradigms, other paradigms exist. One might call these 'fringe development paradigms'. They argue the opposite of the top-down approach of the main paradigms, and have in common a bottom-up approach. Whereas the main paradigms argue on a macro-scale and are production centred, the fringe paradigms argue on a micro-scale and are people centred. It is in these approaches that the NGO movement finds its origins.

People-centred development

An alternative development paradigm is currently emerging from a global process of collective social invention. The dominant logic of this paradigm is that of a balanced human ecology and its dominant resources are the inexhaustible resources of information and creative initiative, and its dominant goal is human growth defined in terms of greater realization of human potentials. (Korten,1984:p.300)

Indeed, in the production-centred development approach people, although they were supposed to be the beneficiaries, were not the central concern. Production was.

Theories of human capital formation and human resource development view human beings primarily as means rather than as ends. (UNDP,1990:p.11)

In 'people-centred development' people are the central concern and their capacity to increase their choices and augment their level of well-being themselves needs to be strengthened

(Korten,1984:p.305).

Community Development

Another fringe development strategy is called 'community development' (Cary,1970).

... community development is "the deliberate attempt by community people to work together to guide the future of their communities, and the development of a corresponding set of techniques for assisting community people in such a process. (Cary,1970:p.1)

Development of a specific project (such as an industry or school) is less important than development of the capacity of a people to establish that project. (Cary,1970:p.2)

The ideas of community development are practically parallel to those of people-centred development.

The idea of community development comes from merging the ideas of 'community organisation' and 'economic development'. 'Community organisation' again grew from combining ideas of 'Utopian socialism' and 'local action' (Cary,1970). People-centred development has its origins in Liberationist thought (Korten,1984).

Participatory development

An approach to development that often goes hand-in-hand with the two last-mentioned is called 'participatory development'.

It is bureaucratic commonplace that "villagers lack managerial skills". [When saying this]... a basic fact is ignored: A lot of managing goes on in villages, and skills exist... [V]illagers have long organised themselves into cooperative groups... Such groups accumulate and extend credit, operate daily and periodic markets... etc. (Calavan,1984:p.217)

In North Thailand the community in one area constructed a total of ten roads, which made nearly half the population have to move. But because the roads were built by the community for the community everybody accepted it and contributed (Calavan,1984:p.218).

Calavan argues that with the beneficiaries of development 'participating' at all levels of the

development process, the results will be greater. Other sources also argue that a participatory approach to development is more efficient, and a non-participatory approach inefficient.

Non-participatory projects have often the drawback of using inappropriate or economically inefficient technology. The agricultural projections are often unrealistic. (Uphoff, 1985: p. 364/5)

The above stands in contrast with the philosophy of the 50s and 60s; and even afterwards.

In the 50s and 60s the role of central government and non-local agents was emphasized. Local communities were seen as an impediment to development and needed to be "penetrated" to become part of the modern nation-state. Their production techniques were regarded as hopelessly behind the times, needing to be replaced by "advanced" methods, which peasants would be taught to "adopt". (Esman and Uphoff, 1984: p. 49)

All the same, the participatory development theme seems to have emerged from a need for efficiency. People's participation is used for this purpose. Alternatively, it could have been argued that people's participation is a must, whether it increases inefficiency or not. Simply on humanitarian grounds people should have a vote in their own development process. Development should be a tool of the people rather than the other way round.

NGOs AND DEVELOPMENT

or HOW the NGO approach works

The definition of NGOs I used originally was:

An NGO, a Non-Governmental Organisation, is [an organisation] ... which preserves its autonomy from governments by raising all of its own funds. By doing so it is able to operate relatively independently of government policy... (Monan, 1989)

In practice, NGOs increasingly get some support from government as the role of participation in development is recognised. However, where and how these organisations obtain their funds is not really the central issue.

In the introduction to "Doing Development - Government, NGOs and the Rural Poor in Asia" Richard Holloway identifies the non-government sector as "people's movements, religious organisations, NGOs

(non-government organizations) and universities" (Holloway,1989:p.1).

When NGOs are simply defined as organizations who are 'non-profit' and 'non-governmental' one includes in this definition pigeon-rearing clubs and the 'West London Buddhist Monthly'.

There is some confusion about what NGOs exactly are. What is certain is that "... NGOs form a very heterogenous group" (van Heemst,1985:p.20). Many use the term NGO indicating only a relatively homogenous sub-group of NGOs: the development NGOs.

Several authors have struggled with the definition of NGO:

Many papers written about NGOs in Third World development start by either lamenting the lack of agreed terms for NGO types and then try to be consistent in their own usage, or set out to define their own terms, or do neither and become more unclear as they go along. The objective of this paper requires us to clarify and define what sort of NGOs we are talking about, and we will start with the term 'Indigenous NGO'. ... The term indigenous NGO is ... applied to NGOs whose origins are in the Third World... (Fowler,1988:p.2/3)

In this thesis, with the term NGO I mean organisations such as the Bangladesh Rural Advancement Committee when using the term NGO. The organisation concerns itself primarily with development, consequently it also fits into the definition of NGO as a development organisation. It is non-governmental in its funding, because no money is received from the Bangladesh government.⁴¹ BRAC is clearly also an NGO that could be labelled an indigenous development NGO, for it has its origins in Bangladesh.

Rajesh Tandon describes the history of the NGO movement in India as starting at the end of the nineteenth century with the 'social reform movement'. In the 1920s the Gandhian voluntary movements emerged. In the 1950s relief and rehabilitation voluntary organizations were started. These organisations were helping short-term gains for the poor and deprived to materialise. Some of these 'curative' organisations were replaced by organisations with 'preventive schemes' such as primary health care programmes in the 1960s and 70s. Simultaneously, rural development programmes based on

⁴¹ Its funding came originally only from Western NGOs such as NOVIB. Recently, also substantial funding from UNICEF was received and from ODA.

"local initiatives, resources, knowledge and expertise began to be evolved" (Tandon,1989:p.16). A new type of voluntary agency named 'Social Action Groups' grew out of the latter by the mid 1970s.

It became clear that raising the consciousness of the poor and oppressed, showing them how to organize, and enhancing their collective empowerment to demand their rights and to acquire resources for their own development is perhaps the only long-term strategy of sustaining people-centred development in India. (Tandon,1989:p.16)

In this research 'NGO' was used to mean specifically this type of 'New NGO'.

Alan Thomas⁴² calls these 'Social Action Groups' "local NGOs" and "grassroots organizations" (Thomas,1992:p.123).

When one focuses only on these 'local NGOs' one still remains with a great variety of schemes, programmes and projects that fall under this label, which is not surprising, for this NGO movement is heterogeneous by principle. NGOs are microeconomic: the repetition of small projects reaching the poor.

This Pluralism [of NGOs] is an ideology based on doubt, puzzlement and agnostic openness to evidence and argument... multidisciplinary by commitment ... and they ask repeatedly what should best be done. (Chambers, 1983:p.44)

All the same, despite the heterogeneous nature of local NGOs there are characteristics that are common amongst most of them. These characteristics are :

(i) 'grass roots' development approach

Grass roots development is also called 'bottom-up' rural development (Thomas,1992:p.133) because it is the NGOs' answer to the modernization theory's 'top-down urban-directed' approach or the 'trickle down approach'.

'Grassroots' development means direct improvements in living standards by groups of the poorest people in local communities. Promoting development at this level implies working directly with such groups on projects designed and run collaboratively with them. Chambers' phrase 'Putting the Last First' encapsulates this way of thinking. (Thomas,1992:p.118)

⁴² In this sub-section I draw heavily on a Chapter written by Alan Thomas. Much of the literature on NGOs has been written by more well-known authors but they did not have the same explanatory qualities as Thomas.

(ii) target group approach

The target group approach is in fact inherent in the grassroots development approach: the poor were to be the direct beneficiaries of development rather than that they should rely on benefits to 'trickle down' through more affluent layers of the population (Thomas,1992:p.118).

... development NGOs share a mutual concern with the poorest segments of the Third World; one of their targets is to contribute in one way or another to creating an environment that will enable these disadvantaged groups to share more fully in the benefits of development. (van Heemst,1985:p.20)

(iii) empowerment of the poor

Some see 'empowerment' and the 'New NGO' as inextricably linked:

... The non-government sector ... has devised an "alternative" development strategy whose programmes are specifically intended to empower the powerless and selectively enrich the poorest. (Holloway,1989:p.1)

Thomas (1992) identifies two types of empowerment.

One of these

... might be characterized as promoting 'tools for self-reliance', though the 'tools' concerned can be organizational innovations such as marketing co-operatives or credit unions as well as (appropriate) technical and training solutions to local problems. Village cereal banks would be an example of such a 'tool'. (Thomas,1992:p.138)

This 'type' of empowerment approach stems from an analysis of poverty being the result of the poor not having the means, or 'tools', to improve their own well-being. The idea is that by providing such tools, the poor will then be able to liberate themselves from their predicament.

The other type of empowerment is "the aim of participatory action research" (Thomas,1992:p.139). The notion of poverty being the result of unequal relationships and exploitation lies at the basis of this approach.

This approach works with homogeneous groups and through participatory action research it is thought to enable these groups to overthrow exploitative power relationships.

Indeed:

According to [M.] McCall, people's participation in local level development can be used... for empowerment of the weakest groups, in which case it becomes emancipating and liberating. (McCall, M. (1987) 'Indigenous Knowledge Systems as the Basis for Participation, East African Potentials'. EADI General Conference, Amsterdam. quoted in Swantz and Vainio-Matilla, 1988:p.131)

Within BRAC, these two types of empowerment appear to exist alongside each other.

(iv) awareness-training

One of the people who proposed 'conscientisation' as a specific development approach was Paulo Freire (Thomas, 1992:p.136). This conscientisation was to be brought about through a 'conscientisation process' (or awareness-training).

Freire propounds specific techniques for dialogical education [in order to bring about that students perceive their reality as the oppressed.]... [Freire developed] a methodology for 'conscientization' [which is]... a process of learning to perceive social, political and economic contradictions, and to take action against the oppressive elements of reality. (Thomas, 1992:p.136)

M. Bratton (1989) also identifies 'awareness-training as a key factor in the 'sustainability' of the NGO-type of development.

(v) self-sufficiency for the rural poor

M. Cernea (1985) stresses the self-reliance of the poor as a central theme in NGO development and argues that it was Mahatma Gandhi who first 'taught the previously fendless to fend for themselves by relying on themselves'.

(vi) decision-making by the beneficiaries

M. Cernea also argues that 'decision-making' by the beneficiaries is an important theme within 'real' NGOs:

In a real NGO the beneficiaries have a say in how they are going to be benefitted. (Cernea, 1985:p.24)

(vii) people's participation

Decision-making by the beneficiaries is closely related to 'people's participation'. In 'people's participation' the beneficiaries roles goes beyond that of 'deciding' about the development process. In participatory development the beneficiaries' part includes managing and even initiating development schemes. (Calavan,1984:p.217)

(viii) appropriate organization

Fowler (1988:p.2) states that 'appropriate organization' is one of the two distinctive features of NGOs. Whereas governments typically require bureaucratic organization with its 'command methods', 'uniformity', 'rigidity' etc. NGOs do not suffer from any of these.

In the United Nations Development Programme's "Human Development Report" (1990) is mentioned that some NGOs are effective 'in programmes that require close and direct involvement with people' which has in fact been a reason why some governments have chosen to call in NGOs' help for such programmes (UNDP,1990:p.64).

Stevens and Verloren van Themaat (1985) equally identify NGOs' 'efficiency'.

(ix) not a project approach

The project approach goes against the process of organic growth; a natural process of growth and expansion, from small to larger, which receives its inspiration and direction chiefly from the needs and aspirations of the rural poor, as and when they present themselves. (Verhagen,1989:p.15)

This is why

Against a short-term project approach, the NGO methodology is evolutionary and long-term. Building self-reliant village organisations is a long, slow business but they are and will be organisations of the people, which can work for developing people. (Poulton and Harris,1988:p.31-32, quoted in Thomas,1992:p.133)

(x) solidarity

Solidarity is an NGO principle like a market principle is price. (Thomas,1992:p.134)

'Solidarity' has a dual meaning: (i) NGOs aim to bring about solidarity between members of the

'target group', a horizontal solidarity; (ii) NGOs aim to act in solidarity with the interests of its beneficiaries, a vertical solidarity.

NGOs do not see 'development' as 'an end in itself but as a means to an end'.⁴³ The end or the goal of NGOs efforts is to improve the beneficiaries' well-being (or the target group's or the poor's).

Wealth is evidently not the good we are seeking, for it is merely useful for the sake of something else. (UNDP,1990:p.9)

CONCEPT OF WELL-BEING

or WHY is there an NGO approach?

Often organisations claim to improve the 'welfare' of their beneficiaries. The term 'welfare' is easily mistaken for 'wealth' which simplifies the complex concept of welfare to the material aspects of people's situation.

Therefore, the concept of 'well-being' was introduced.

Evaluating inequality in a society solely by means of the income distribution is deficient... [because] there is more to well-being and even welfare than income... (Keuning:1987)

Grootaert [1983], in his review of the World Bank's living standard's measurement study, also stresses the multidimensional nature of welfare... (Keuning:1987)

Korten (1984) identifies three 'generations' of NGOs or NGO programmes. The first one he calls 'relief and welfare NGOs' or the 'typically church-run NGO' (mentioned in Thomas,1992:p.127). The two later 'generations' he calls 'small scale self-reliant development' which are community development projects in areas such as preventive health and improving farming practices whose benefits could be sustained beyond the period of NGO assistance. The third 'generation' development programme Korten calls 'sustainable systems development'.

...NGOs are trying to use relatively small resources to influence the policies of

⁴³ This distinction was made by Jean Drèze during his Development Economics lectures at the London School of Economics 1988/89

other agencies with much larger resources. ... These strategies have evolved as some of the larger and more experienced NGOs... attempt to find ways of overcoming the limitations of approaches confined too much either to specific services or to the level of local communities. (Thomas,1992:p.129-130)

The fact that Korten calls the first generation of NGO programmes 'relief and welfare' indicates that the later generations are not typically 'welfare' programmes. The 'relief and welfare programmes' excludes many of the aspects of the 'New NGO' that were mentioned under the last section.

Well-being on the other hand does include also the less tangible aspects of people's lives such as level of empowerment, equality and social status besides those aspects that welfare and wealth encompass.

Growth and Maldevelopment

As was mentioned above, the modernization theory argued that growth was the panacea to underdevelopment.

The rates of growth were considered to automatically translate into corresponding improvements in human well-being. (Korten,1984:p.299)

Objections were raised from many sections against this assumption of well-being to be improved by definition with growth.

Some argued that growth could lead to improved welfare if it was accompanied by an equal distribution:

wealth is evidently not the good we are seeking, for it is merely useful and for the sake of something else....

Growth with equity is the optimal combination for generating good macro conditions needed to achieve human development objectives. (UNDP,1990:p.62)

Some others argued that growth had no bearing on the level of well-being, particularly of the poor and some even claimed that growth had a negative impact on the well-being of many.

... by the end of the Decade [for women] it was becoming clear that development

itself was the problem. (Shiva:1988)

Why should we regard the emergence of modern science as a great advance for humanity when it was achieved only at the cost of a deterioration in social status for most of humanity including women and non-western cultures? (Shiva,1988:p.31)

They introduced the term 'maldevelopment'.

The paradigm of maldevelopment, which sees all work that does not produce profits and capital as non- or unproductive work.

The poverty crisis of the South arises from the growing scarcity of water, food, fodder and fuel, associated with increasing maldevelopment and ecological destruction... (Shiva,1988)

Others called it 'overdevelopment'.

The concept of overdevelopment has been introduced to indicate the negative aspects of a welfare state. (Perthel,1981:p.1)

All critics of the modernization theory agree that the poor and women lost out most when growth was the sole development objective.

TARGET GROUP

or WHOM the NGO approach is for

One of the common characteristics that NGOs have is that they use a target group in their development process. The target group in the Bangladesh context consists typically of 'the poor' and 'women'. For this research, equivalent to how most NGOs see it, only those women who also fall under the definition of 'the poor' are included in the target group. This is not to argue that the term 'poor' only refers to men, but that women are lifted out of that group of 'the poor' in order to be able to focus on the disadvantages common to their lives that exist in addition to those of the total group of the poor.

The Poor

The organisation active in the BRAC programme village studied in this research defined their target-group as 'the landless', 'landless' being defined as all households possessing no more than 50 decimals of land (= 1/2 acre) and attempting to sell their labour for at least 100 days a year.

Like the concept of development itself, poverty and its measurement has undergone considerable changes in the course of the last few decades. Just as disillusionment with poverty growth-oriented definitions of development spearheaded the shift in the 1970s to a greater emphasis on distributional issues and on the quality of life, so too parallel concerns in the debate on poverty have led to a rethinking of the meaning and measurement of poverty. (Kabeer, 1989)

What is poverty? Some claim that poverty is an absolute concept.

... the poor are those whose incomes barely maintain their physical existence and those who have limited or no means of access to other social needs. (Shiva,1988:p.3)

Whereas others maintain that the perception of poverty depends on cultural factors.

It is useful to separate a cultural conception of subsistence living as poverty from the material experience of poverty that is a result of dispossession and deprivation. (Shiva:1988)

Those living under 'subsistence economics' which satisfy basic needs through self-provisioning are not poor in the sense of being deprived. (Shiva:1988)

Women

Contrary to the target group 'the poor', it is not necessary to define who 'women' are. The logic of focusing in on a target group was already explained under the section of "NGOs and Development".

That the target group would be 'the poor' is obvious. Some argue that 'gender-based analysis' is often 'unnecessarily divisive' (Sen,1987:p.2).

But A.K. Sen himself argues in favour of 'gender classification':

In fact, the importance of gender as a crucial parameter in social and economic analysis is complementary to, rather than competitive with, the variable of class, ownership, occupation, incomes and family status. (Sen,1987:p.2)

and

To concentrate on family poverty irrespective of gender can be misleading in terms of both causation and consequences. (Sen,1987:p.3)

Women as a target group is not necessarily an NGO phenomenon and its origins do not immediately lie

in the NGO Movement, but in the Women's Movement.

Sarah White (1992) in "Arguing with the Crocodile: Gender and Class in Bangladesh" recognized four thought patterns for justifying women as a topic in development, each in accordance with varying levels of ideology (or cynicism) concerning development.

- (i) Development is a good thing and women should have a share.
- (ii) Non-integration of women is impeding the development process.
- (iii) Development as it is practised now has (only) negative effects on women and as a matter of principle this should be different.
- (iv) "Florence McCarthy... [argues that w]omen become a 'target group'... because they remain a largely untapped resource, not yet fully exploited in the non-benign development process... The development process involves: 'collusive relations between donor nations and the local state in how to get the most out of a country'." (White, 1992:p.18)

CONCLUSION

It is difficult to identify strong continuities amongst 'indigenous development NGOs'. Most of all they are heterogeneous. Even within NGOs incongruencies can exist; in BRAC two programmes resulting each out of a different development paradigm have existed for some time alongside each other within the same organisation.

The fact that NGOs are pragmatic organisations whose interest is not academic but concerned with the plight of the poor, explains this incoherency. In different situations different interventions result in success. When one is concerned with the 'success' only, one is willing to adopt any approach to achieve this.

The theory of NGOs is often the result of the practice. As the practice of NGOs consists of countless approaches, it is not surprising that the theory is also somewhat overwhelming in its diversity. When keeping in mind that NGOs' objective is to alleviate poverty and improve well-being and that in a pragmatic, efficient and effective fashion, this diversity is understandable. NGOs argue that to be effective, one cannot be dogmatic. This is a characteristic all NGOs appear to have in common.

This research was conceived of within an NGO context. The research was designed in an NGO way; based on a few sources here and there and good advice from senior staff and from colleagues.

But how does this design for programme evaluation fit into the theory. What is research? What is evaluation? What are accepted research methods? What is the debate around indicators of development? What data-collection methods are widely accepted? Which research methodologies does this research approach fit in with? This section attempts to address these questions.

RESEARCH METHODS

A make-shift approach was used for this research, to put it negatively, or a dynamic approach, to put it positively. 'Make-shift' because when starting I had only rudimentary knowledge of the formal current theories on development which in general is contrary to a 'scientific' fashion of going about research. 'Dynamic' because with the help of only a few writings, much advice from a variety of people, in a relatively short time, with negligible financial and material sources, I implemented my plan of research.

Since completing the field research, I have read myself up-to-date on the 'current theories'. The most remarkable finding, but logical for I worked for an NGO, was that the methodology I followed turned out to be a well-established one.

In particular, I found many common characteristics with writings on Rapid Rural Appraisal and feminist writings.

Many object to researchers that they do not go about their work in an efficient manner. For example, Robert Chambers argues

..large-scale multidisciplinary rural surveys must be one of the most inefficient industries in the world. (Chambers,1985:p.402)

Robert Chambers notes that "It is far easier to demand more and more information than it is to abstain from demanding it" (Chambers,1985:p.403). Often the degree of accuracy is too high in surveys, he argues. For example, no more than just the direction of change is what is usually required to know, rather than the exact percentage of change.

Another comment Chambers made in the same article is;

Knowledge of rural people about many things is often rich and in some respects superior to that of the outsider. (Chambers,1985:p.405)

This justifies the methodology of this research. I went directly with my questionnaires to the rural people. My questions to them were genuine questions, for I was mostly unaware of what other researchers had found as answers to the issues I was researching.

Chambers also mentions that "[i]nvestigators - especially outsiders who are 'old hands' and who 'know it all' - fail to listen." I was not an 'old hand' and I knew little before conducting my field research which certainly added to my ability to listen to what the villagers could teach me.

It has been especially conducive to this research that I was not fully aware of the debate around qualitative versus quantitative data. I might have been far more wary of using either had I known the critique of both.

Some comments describing well how I feel about this debate are:

If I use qualitative data, I believe it but no-one else does; if I use quantitative data, everyone believes it but I don't. (Quoted in (White,B.,1984:p.18) as 'comment by a workshop participant')

and

When you cannot measure it, when you cannot express it in numbers, your knowledge is of a meagre and unsatisfactory kind.
(Lord Kelvin)

When you can measure it, when you can express it in numbers, your knowledge is still of a meagre and unsatisfactory kind.
(Jacob Viner) (Quoted in Sayer,1984)

The source confirming my methodology most closely was B. White's "Measuring Time Allocation, Decision-Making and Agrarian Changes Affecting Rural Women", 1984. White argues that quantitative and qualitative measurements can and should be used next to each other. Quantitative information is a good check on perception biases of the researcher whereas qualitative information is often more sensitive to complexities and ambiguities.

INDICATORS OF DEVELOPMENT

In this research, the aim was to develop a method for assessing social change and change in gender issues on a micro scale. Most indicators of development encountered in the literature had either or both of the following drawbacks: a) they were macro-economic b) they concentrated on the material, tangible aspects of development or c) they measured inputs or at best outputs rather than outcomes or impact.

Each development strategy has its own indicators to assess or measure development.

Development strategies that argue at a macro-level, use matching macro-level indicators. When pursuing a growth strategy, Gross National Product⁴⁴, GNP, (and changes in GNP) is logically the indicator for assessing development. Even though the growth strategy is much replaced by other strategies, GNP still features prominently.

GNP has many drawbacks:

Concern with the poor majority created a need for information about the impact of development progress on their lives. The indicator generally used as an aggregate measure of that progress - per-capita income or product - is an inadequate guide to how well the poor fare under alternative strategies of development. (McGreevey, 1980)

The main problems with GNP as an indicator were identified as:

- (i) GNP per capita does not indicate the distribution of income among people;

⁴⁴ In this thesis GNP refers to "the total domestic and foreign value added claimed by residents. It comprises GDP (defined [as]... the total output of goods and services for final use produced by residents and nonresidents, regardless of the allocation to domestic and foreign claims ... It is calculated without making deductions for depreciation of "manmade" assets or depletion and degradation of natural resources...) plus net factor income from abroad, which is the income residents receive from abroad for factor services (labor and capital) less similar payments made to nonresidents who contributed to the domestic economy." (World Bank, 1995)

- (ii) GNP per capita does not mean quality of life;
- (iii) GNP per capita does not include all goods and services produced in the country;
- (iv) GNP transformed to an internationally acceptable currency uses an exchange rate which is not always appropriate. (Perthel,1981:p.5)

It was suggested that GNP should be accompanied by some other indicators to circumvent these problems. For example the Gini-coefficient which measures inequality of income, should therefore complement GNP (UNDP,1990:p.12).

But critics of GNP did not think that merely adding other indicators to the GNP indicator went far enough:

It... became almost an article of faith that per capita GNP was a very inadequate measure of national development... Economic growth was shown to be often associated with immiseration of the poorest, with growing social inequalities, and with increased dependence on First world financiers and markets... This assisted SIs' [Social Indicators'] popularity. (Miles,1985:p.31-32)

Alternative indicators had to be developed. Criteria that development indicators should answer to were described as follows:

1. Data should be available and obtainable.
2. Indicators should have conceptual validity - the values they show should be acceptably consistent with other data and with common sense.
3. Indicators should be comparable in terms of operational definitions as well as theoretical definitions, i.e. methods of collecting data needs to be uniform.
4. An assessment of degree of association or correlation between indicators is necessary.

(Adopted from (McGranahan et al.,1985:p.11-12)).

Although it is obviously true that there is no point in developing an indicator for which data cannot be obtained, criterium number 1 is often interpreted as meaning that indicators should be derived from data that are standard by-products of other national accountancy exercises.

This practice was described as follows:

...the first step is to measure whatever can be easily measured... the second step is to disregard what can't be measured... and the third step is to presume that what cannot be measured easily is not very important... the fourth step is to say that what cannot be easily measured really does not exist. (N.S. Jodha, 1985, "Social Science Research on Rural Change : Some Gaps" Paper presented at conference on Rural Economic Change in South Asia; Differences in Approach and in Results between Large-Scale Surveys and Intensive Micro-Studies, Bangalore, India 5-8 Aug., mentioned in Kabeer,1991:p.3)

Similarly, in its 'Human Development Report' (1990) the UNDP notes that M.D. Morris "wished to focus on development as achieved well-being". This was in contrast with previous practice where development was seen as an 'activity' (UNDP,1990:p.104).

In "Quality of Service" Alan Lawrie (1992) writes that every organisation can be described as having the following four characteristics:

1. inputs (the resources put into the organisation)
2. Using a process (what the organisation chooses to do with the inputs)
3. Outputs (what the organisation does)
4. Outcomes ("the impact, both short term and long term, created by the output".)
(Lawrie,1992:p.8/9/10)

Development levels should not be measured through input indicators (such as 'how much money is spent' or 'how many people are working somewhere'), nor through output indicators (such as 'number of hospitals' or 'quantity of condoms distributed'⁴⁵ but through outcome indicators (e.g. the circumference of the upper arm relative to someone's height as a health indicator). A United Nations publication "Training Users and Producers in Compiling Statistics and Indicators on Women in Development" (1987) suggests that 'legal age of marriage for women and men' should be included as an indicator. In this study it was found that women on average entered marriage at the age of 15.0 and for Bangladesh as a whole it has been reported to be even less, whereas the legal minimum marriage age is 18. This shows that the laws have little impact on the life of the villagers and these kind of input indicators are of little practical value.

M.D. Morris suggested other criteria for development indicators:

1. It should not assume that there is only one pattern of development.

⁴⁵ I was told that Ershad, president of Bangladesh until 1990, was awarded a Population Control prize for having an astronomical number of condoms distributed in Bangladesh. One informant, a BRAC programme organiser, said that it concerned one billion condoms. Anyone who has ever been to rural Bangladesh will understand the joke of this 'achievement' - condoms are just about the only readily available toy. Children blow them up like balloons.

2. It should avoid standards that reflect the values of societies.
3. It should measure results, not inputs.
4. It should be able to reflect the distribution of social results.
5. It should be simple to construct and easy to comprehend.
6. It should lend itself to international comparison. (Morris,1979)

The most well-known attempt at developing a set of indicators, in fact an index, that answers to all these criteria was done by this author through his Physical Quality of Life Index or the PQLI.

...we decided not to try to capture everything about the development process in a single measure. [Instead we identified a group of] ... conditions that had to be satisfied if a development policy was to be deemed successful in addressing the needs of the very poorest people. ... We finally settled on three apparently universal concerns. We assumed that people generally prefer to have few deaths among the infants born to them and that under almost all circumstances people prefer to live longer rather than shorter lives. We also decided that... literacy could serve as a surrogate for... individual capacity for effective social participation. ... three indicators [emerged]... infant mortality, life expectancy at age one, and basic literacy... [These three] were selected as the components of the composite measure, the Physical Quality of Life Index (PQLI). (Morris,1979:p.3-4)

In the United Nations' Human Development Report 1990 a Human Development Index is proposed which in effect merges the Physical Quality of Life Index with the GNP, for this index consists of 'life expectancy at birth' as an indicator for 'longevity', 'literacy' as an indicator for 'knowledge' and 'GNP' as an indicator for 'material welfare' (UNDP,1990:p.12).

Archana R. Dholakia (1993) developed a Women's Welfare Index or WWA along with a Men's Welfare Index or MWA. Although in many ways comparable to the PQLI (her group of indicators are: Literacy Rate, Death Rate, Mean Age at Marriage, Participation in Labour Force) her index is more relevant to the Indian or the sub-continent's context than to some other countries. Age at marriage is less relevant in some Caribbean countries where marriage is not near-universal as it is in India. What is interesting about Dholakia's document is that she clearly splits data for men and women and thus makes the gender differences very visible.

All indicators and indices discussed till here are, because of their nature, indicators that look at development on a macro-scale and are therefore of limited practical use for village studies of the kind conducted for this research.

At a micro-level the indicator of 'households' income' features prominently, similarly to GNP on a macro-level.

Income has, like GNP, many drawbacks as an indicator. For instance, income does not measure distribution within the household, income emphasises those goods the household produces that enter the monetized market and ignores the numerous other production forms.

... there is no automatic and necessary connection between income and the life-quality results that can be attained. The implications of [this].. fact... must now be confronted directly. (Morris,1979:p.5)

In fact, income is an output indicator, which might, or might not lead to a changed outcome.

Indicators used by NGOs in Bangladesh are usually of the "changes in income" or "amount of credit disbursed" variety - they are usually input or output indicators.

In this research no assumption of an output leading to an outcome were made. Only actual outcomes were measured. The three sources I based my choice of indicators on were : Amin, Sajeda, 1990, 'Gender Inequality within Households: The Impact of a Women's Development Program in 36 Bangladeshi Villages'; Chen (1988), 'Appraisal Report on BRAC'; and Eviota (1979) 'Measuring Filipino Women's Participation in Development'.

DATA-COLLECTION METHODS

I had been advised not to use a long recall-period because people forget and end up underestimating. For instance one does not remember how much work one has done exactly two weeks ago. Fortunately, my adviser did not define 'long' and I took the information to heart and used my common sense.

I argued that when it concerned ordinary mobility, a recall period of no more than 24 hours was appropriate. But for the question "For what reasons did you last go to town?" I did expect a longer recall period - going to town would be such an event for villagers, I argued, they would remember months on. Indeed, the question gave satisfactory results as I had expected.

McCracken et al. (1988) state that one of the few 'rules' researchers should not stray from is to use a recall period no longer than 24 hours. In case I had read this source before starting the research, I would almost certainly have left out this question, in particular in the light of the source being about RRA and advocating non-traditional methodologies.

The same source claimed that no 'individual interview' should last longer than 1 hour. If I had known this 'rule' and complied to it, I would probably have shortened my questionnaire which sometimes took three hours to complete and I would have left out many interesting questions. The fact that the length of the questionnaire caused no apparent problems (some people even went on discussing the issues long after I had obtained all my information) shows that sometimes 'ignorance' can be an advantage.

The above two examples illustrate that it is sometimes useful to stray from 'rules' on research methods. This is not to suggest that these 'rules' or guidelines should be ignored. It is only to suggest that one should not be dogmatic about them.

Of course, also mistakes were made during the design of the research. For instance, far too many indicators were obtained for the development dimension 'Purdah'. If I had been more knowledgeable when designing the research, these, and other mistakes, could possibly have been avoided.

On the whole though, the fact that I designed this research in relative ignorance has led to many interesting and surprising findings which might otherwise not have materialized. Several research theories have argued similarly. For instance, Feminist research theories or Rapid Rural Appraisal theories.⁴⁶

⁴⁶ There are many other research methodologies that have strayed from traditional 'scientific' research methods. Many of these non-traditional methodologies as a whole can be labelled "New Paradigm Research" as Peter Reason and John Rowan did in their "Human Inquiry : A Sourcebook of New Paradigm Research" 1981. Here only feminist and rapid rural appraisal methodologies are reviewed because they are obvious choices in the light of studying 'gender issues' and 'social change'.

Maria Mies wrote :

The main problem that women's studies face on all fronts is the male bias or androcentrism that prevails in practically all disciplines, in most theoretical work done through centuries of scientific quest. This androcentrism is manifested ... particularly in research methodology. (Mies,1979:p.1-2)

And

If Women's Studies are to be made into an instrument of women's liberation, they cannot uncritically use the positivist quantitative research methodology. If they do, they will again be turned into an instrument of repression. New wine should not be poured into old vessels. (Mies,1979:p.3)

In another article she mentions that:

At first this confrontation.. initiates a process of unlearning, i.e. a critical testing of that which the women had previously regarded as "normal", "natural", "correct", "universal", and which had been presented to them at school and university as scientifically proven. (Mies,1991:p.77)

Summarized, the above three quotations mean:

1. Established research methodology is 'androcentric'.
2. New, feminist research methods should be developed.
3. In order to do proper feminist research one first has to go through a phase of 'unlearning'.

The approach used in this research entailed a minimum of 'unlearning' because the learning of 'androcentric' and 'scientific' methodology and their dogmas was kept to a minimum, as far as this is possible considering that I too am a product of modern Western society and academic institutions.

To make the new 'vessels' that Maria Mies sees necessary, one has to reason from the beginning and define all research theories, approaches, methods and tools from scratch. Much of non-feminist theories could be helpful and might be adopted in this process.

This is exactly the process followed for this research. The idea of the research and major portions of the methods and tools were conceived of by myself, ignorant of established methods. Some theories that I happened to encounter in the small library of BRAC and that I was informed about by colleagues were incorporated into the research methods, but only if they fitted into the approach that I had already decided upon. These theories were often not from the most well-known sources.

Through a research approach such as the one pursued in this study, one is most likely to arrive at new research methods and tools. Therefore, I would like to suggest the method used for this research as a methodology.

Other features of feminist research and the extent to which they were applied, in retrospect, to this research, are the following:

- (i) Feminist research should be 'subjective' as opposed to the 'objective' of established research. Feminist researchers should use their own experience of oppression and discrimination as a starting point for research.

Maria Mies wrote:

...feminist women must deliberately and courageously integrate their repressed, unconscious female subjectivity, i.e. their own experience of oppression and discrimination into the research process. This means that committed women social scientists must learn to understand their own 'double consciousness' as a methodological and political chance and not as an obstacle. (Mies,1979:p.5)

At first, throughout the research I had attempted to argue that the research was conducted in an objective way, because I perceived objectivity to be a prerequisite for an academic study. Arguing this study's objectivity proved very difficult because several aspects of it are clearly subjective. After being introduced to feminist research methodologies I realised that the subjectivity of this research had in fact benefitted the interest of the research. Consequently, the final version of this thesis does not deny the subjectivity of the research and instead it is presented as part of the approach.

- (ii) In feminist research 'conscious partiality' has to replace the "value freedom, neutrality and indifference towards the research objects" of established research (Mies,1979:p.6). The emotional dimension of the conduct of inquiry should not be ignored.

Another major feature of feminist epistemology is its refusal to ignore the emotional dimension of the conduct of inquiry... To some extent, this is an outgrowth of women's greater familiarity with the world of emotions and their meaning... Thus, this aspect of epistemology involves not only acknowledgment of the affective dimension of research, but also as recognition that emotions serve as a source of insight or a signal of rupture in social reality (Cook 1988a, mentioned in Fonow and Cook,1991:p.9)

As was already mentioned in the 'RESEARCH METHODS' section of this chapter, the questions in my questionnaire were genuine questions and I was curious to find out what people would answer. The interviews I had with the people were comparable to normal discussions. Frequently I would be asked my opinion on the issues discussed, which I gave truthfully. This approach led to a certain degree of intimacy with the interviewees, which made it possible to touch on more emotional topics such as the development dimension of sexual violence. The emotional aspects of this development dimension I did not ignore. For instance, when one single woman of about thirty was asked "What would you do if you had a daughter and she would get raped" she answered "We would do nothing but just cry and remember it". While answering she was nearly moved to the point of tears. I then cut out the remaining list of questions of "would you marry her off earlier" etc. Her reaction gave me enough insight into her feelings of powerlessness and grief about this issue.

Emotions were considered in conducting this research, but unfortunately I did not actively make them "serve as a source of insight", mainly because at the time I thought that it would be unacademic to do so.

- (iii) The 'view from below' is to replace the 'view from above' (Mies,1979:p.6). Feminist research should be done for women, not welfare departments (Harding,1987:p.8).

the hierarchical research situation [of established research] as such defeats the very purpose of research: it creates an acute distrust in the 'research objects' who feel that they are being interrogated. (Mies,1979:p.6)

Research must be put to serve the interests of dominated, exploited and oppressed groups, particularly women. (Mies,1979:p.6)

To a certain extent the 'view from below' was applied to this research, in that the 'research objects' did apparently not 'feel interrogated' and mostly seemed to enjoy the interviews. However, this research could have been much improved on its 'view from below'. For instance, it would be logical if the target-group is actively involved in the evaluation of such an NGO's programme, since NGOs have as main objective to increase the well-being of the target group. For this research, villagers could have already been involved in the design phase; together with the villagers the criteria of success of BRAC could have been identified. Moreover, the final findings of the research could have been discussed with the research subjects. This thesis has clearly been written with policy makers and evaluators in mind, rather than that it was written for the target group.

- (iv) In Feminist research, action and research should be integrated. Researchers should actively take part in actions, movements and struggles. Research should focus on change, not the status quo.

Maria Mies wrote that 'spectator knowledge' must be replaced by 'active participation in actions, movements and struggles' for women's emancipation. Research must become an integral part of such struggles. "Women social scientists must be able to look at anyone who participates in a social action or struggle as 'sister-or-brother-sociologist'" (Mies,1979:p.6).

Mies also argues that the change of the status quo becomes the starting point for a scientific quest. Her motto is "If you want to know a thing, you must change it". "As long as normalcy is not disrupted they [women] are not able to admit even to themselves that these relationships are oppressive or exploitive." (Mies,1979:p.6) One cannot, is unable to, see the status quo as a phenomenon.

Sandra Harding also argues this:

What is clear is that whether they are women or men, those who do not actively struggle against the exploitation of women in everyday life are not likely to

produce social science research about any subject at all that is undistorted by sexism and androcentrism. (Harding,1987:p.12)

In this research action and research were not integrated. Even though I participated in life of two villages for a short time each, I did not take part in conflicts or struggles, because all the time during the research I thought that it was required of me to be neutral. However, the approach to evaluation presented in this research does not make participation in struggles plausible, because it is designed as a quick method, whereas struggles are typically long processes. Therefore, I suggest to anyone who is going to use this method of evaluation, that they do not shy away from taking active part in women's lives, in particular in their fight to claim power, but I do not regard it as feasible that a struggle is fought and studied in its entirety.

- (v) Related to this is that the research process should be a process of conscientisation (Mies:1979)

... consciousness of oppression can lead to a creative insight that is generated by experiencing contradictions... Under ideal circumstances, transformation occurs, during which something hidden is revealed about the formerly taken-for-granted aspects of sexual asymmetry. (Fonow and Cook,1991:p.3)

The principle of the research process to be a process of conscientisation was not applied in this research, again because I was trying to be neutral. All the same, by asking questions of the questionnaire and also giving my views on the issues, to a certain extent some conscientisation process did take place, if unintentional. This process I tried to ignore while I was collecting the data because at the time I regarded it as an undesirable side-product. Now, I recommend that this 'side-product' is recognised and incorporated in the findings because then it can instead function as a desirable 'main-product', as feminist research suggests.

- (vi) Feminist research is communal (Miller and Treitel,1991:p.33), participatory (Miller and Treitel,1991:p.33) and reflexive:

A sociology-of-knowledge approach to feminist scholarship reveals the role of reflexivity as a source of insight. ... By reflexivity we mean the tendency of feminists to reflect upon, examine critically, and explore analytically the nature of the research process. (Fonow and Cook,1991:p.2)

The method used in this research could and should be improved in it being communal and participatory. As was stated earlier, I, the researcher, identified both the dimension to be evaluated and the method for evaluating them. At least the identification of the development dimensions and possibly also the method for evaluating them, could be done by the community or at least with the community. The level of reflexivity could also be enhanced by consciously incorporating it into the methodology. In this research more by chance than by design, at intervals I 'reflected upon' the research process and adjusted it in minor ways. I recommend that this indeed is a matter of course.

- (vii) Feminist research should be 'fuelled by new findings made on the basis of new experiences' and new questions.

The discussion often followed the well-trodden paths of contemplative academic discourse which is fueled by claim and counter-claim and not by new findings made on the basis of new experiences... [This] runs contrary, however, to the intended direction of feminist science and research as I formulated it in the introductory thesis of the Postulates. (Mies, 1991: p. 60)

... the questions an oppressed group wants answered are rarely requests for so-called pure truth. Instead, they are queries about how to change its conditions; how its world is shaped by forces beyond it; how to win over, defeat or neutralize those forces arrayed against its emancipation, growth or development... (Harding, 1987)

Many of the findings in this research are new and in this respect this research complies to this feature of feminist research. However, the research hardly touches upon how to 'change conditions', 'how to win over, defeat or neutralize those forces arrayed against its emancipation...' This can be mostly ascribed to the fact that no actual evaluation of programme impact was done but instead a method of making programme impact visible is proposed. If this method is applied, then recommendations on how to improve the programme will also become possible.

- (viii) Furthermore, feminist research wants to integrate other methods besides quantifiable methods.

[This] criticism that the category of experience is aligned with the "soft" methods and that these methods merely oppose the "hard", "masculine" i.e. quantitative methods, misses the real problem. The real problem lies in the fact that the scientific research methods are instruments for the structuring of reality. This reality is presently structured in such a way that only that which is quantifiable qualifies as "real". My criticism of quantifying methods is not directed against

every form of statistics but as its claim to have a monopoly on accurately describing the world. (Mies,1991:p.67)

A great part of this research attempts to quantify and measure that which is usually regarded as unquantifiable. One could argue that hereby simply lip-service is paid to "'hard", "masculine" ... methods" (Mies,1991:p.67). However, quantifying phenomena does render them useful for clear comparison. Additionally, it does feminist research no harm to prove that many more phenomena are quantifiable than is usually assumed and which are therefore usually overlooked.

- (ix) What is probably the most crucial 'rule' in feminist research is that there should be no rule. A feminist research methodology, 'if there is one, is that research should not be dogmatic. On the contrary, feminist research should creatively use anything available:

Feminist approaches to research are often characterized by an emphasis on creativity, spontaneity, and improvisation in the selection of both topic and method (Cook and Fonow, 1986). This includes the tendency to use already-given situations both as the focus of investigation and as a means of collection data. (Fonow and Cook,1991:p.11)

and

Cleff (1975) ... warns feminists against prescribing any particular methods; an intolerance for variety is precisely what has weakened traditional research. (Miller and Treitel,1991:p.33)

Sandra Harding argues that the methodology of feminist research is not to have a methodology:

... is there a distinctive feminist method of inquiry?... My point here is to argue against the idea of a distinctive feminist method of research. I do so on the grounds that preoccupation with method mystifies what have been the most interesting aspects of feminist research processes. (Harding,1987:p.1)

This research was by nature not dogmatic for I was unaware of most of the research dogmas. Earlier, an example is mentioned in which I had apparently even deviated from one of the few rules that McCracken et al. (1988) mention as RRA 'rules', and this deviation had led to interesting findings. However, some common dogmas such as that the researcher needs to be neutral, objective, I unjustly tried to comply to with unsatisfactory results. This leads me to recommend that indeed, anyone who wants to apply the evaluation method proposed, uses it only as a collection of suggestions and not as rules. As Fonow and Cook (1991), Miller and Treitel (1991) and Harding (1987) argue above, the only

rule is that there is no rule.

RAPID RURAL APPRAISAL METHODOLOGY

In particular, this last 'rule' of 'no rules' in feminist methodology is an important aspect of Rapid Rural Appraisal methodology as well. In fact, there are many more similarities than differences between the two, although the phrasing might vary.

Indeed, methodologies such as Rapid Rural Appraisal and Feminist would disagree on few points. All the same they are standing independently because in each the emphasis is different. For instance, Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA) and Rapid Rural Appraisal (RRA) are different, as their names suggest: PRA emphasizes that rural appraisal should be participatory, whereas RRA emphasizes that it should be rapid besides being participatory.

In "An Introduction for Rapid Rural Appraisal for Agricultural Development" the authors name five aspects that all good Rapid Rural Appraisal or RRA have in common:

- (i) Good RRA is iterative; has a 'learning-as-you-go' approach.
- (ii) Good RRA is innovative; there is no simple, standardized methodology.
- (iii) Good RRA is interactive; an interdisciplinary approach is used. This has also been called triangulating.

Triangulation means using more than one method or source (often three) for the same information. (McCracken et al., 1988: p.153)

- (iv) Good RRA is informal; only partly structured and informal interviews are used.
- (v) Good RRA is in the community; learning takes place in the field.

(from McCracken et al., 1988: p.153)

David Korten, although not especially known for RRA work, adds to these five the rejection of the presumably 'value free' and 'scientific' research methods of production-centred development and

suggests methods that were described as 'subjective' under the section on feminist research (Korten, 1984:p.300).

Robert Chambers further mentions that the 'rapid' of Rapid Rural Appraisal is crucial and is what makes RRA different from other rural appraisal.

Learning rapidly and progressively. The process of RRA involves rapid and progressive learning... (Chambers, 1991:p.523)

Furthermore, Chambers wants knowledge to be efficient. This was mentioned above as a 'must' for feminist research too.

Optimizing tradeoffs. The concept of tradeoffs is basic. It relates the costs of collection and learning to tradeoffs between the quantity, relevance, timeliness, truth, and actual beneficial use of information. The paradoxical principal here is optimal ignorance. This means [not] knowing what is not worth knowing, and not trying to find it out. It also includes knowing when enough is known and then abstaining from trying to find out more. A corollary of optimal ignorance is appropriate imprecision, or avoiding measurement or precision that is not needed. (Chambers, 1991)

To a certain extent, this research has the RRA aspects mentioned here.

It was iterative, in that respect that I only read a little literature before I wrote the questionnaire. The field-work I did in several two to three weeks' periods in between which I would discuss the findings. However, it was not as iterative as it could have been. For instance, I could have continuously adjusted the questionnaires especially by adding questions concerning new issues that were coming up in the field.

This research was reasonably innovative in the sense that it did not follow closely anyone else's methods.

Triangulation was applied by using various methods next to each other in order to find out information, and cross-checking it. The normal questionnaire was used next to the village informants' questionnaire which was again complemented by simple observation.

Contrary to RRA tradition of being informal, the questionnaires were mainly structured and consequently the research was rather formal in its approach.

However, this research, in RRA tradition took place in the community. Most of the learning I did in the field and not behind a desk.

This research, as was already explained in the section on feminist research, was to a great extent subjective, which makes it also fit into the RRA tradition. However, as was also argued earlier, the research did not benefit from the subjectiveness because I was still adhering to the traditional research paradigm that a researcher should be objective.

The field-work part of this research was reasonably rapid lasting only two months within a three-months period. However, the literature study that followed and the writing of the thesis lasted for over two years which makes it far longer than RRA methodology recommends.

CONCLUSION

In this chapter it was investigated whether the particular approach of this study finds support in the theory. It has become clear that indeed the approach fits in with the theory, despite the fact that I was not aware of the theory when designing the study. When considering that the theory of RRA in particular has resulted from the NGO practice, it is logical that a study that has resulted from an NGO setting as well, would tally with the theory. In fact, all three theories (RRA, Feminist and NGO) stem from the same bottom-up tradition.

The first research question posed was "Can one assess the impact of NGO programmes based on group based empowerment by measuring social (development) variables in programme and non-programme areas?"

This research has shown that indeed there are many suitable options for measuring social development variables and even to compare the results of different study locations. When a set of variables are used, in order to be able to compare, one will need to allot weights to each variable of the set. The distribution of these weights will mirror the relative importance each variable is considered to have by the evaluator or, alternatively the organisation asking for such an evaluation could be invited to allocate weight to each variable.

In this research it emerges that one can assess the impact of NGO programmes focused on group-based empowerment by comparing programme and non-programme areas. However, its validity depends fully on whether the programme and non-programme locations are the same or at least comparable when the intervention starts. To demonstrate that this is the case, one would need a baseline study of both locations before the programme commenced. This baseline study does not necessarily need to measure social development variables in an identical way as when programme impact is assessed because the baseline study serves only to demonstrate the villages' comparability.

As this research did not have any baseline information, it serves as an example of how one could assess programme impact by comparing a programme and non-programme village if one did have such baseline information.

Alternatively, this research could be the basis for assessing programme impact by comparing the results of a programme village with the results of a baseline study of the same village. In this approach the baseline study has to be conducted in the same way as the study after the programme has commenced. The drawback of assessing programme impact through only one programme village is that it will be difficult to single out changes due to the impact of the NGO and changes due to other factors.

What is useful about the methodology of this study is that many intangible indicators of development have been researched. The indicators were concerning gender and social change. Because it is difficult to measure or even observe changes in these fields, an indirect method of measuring was designed. In many of the sections people's opinions were explored rather than their behaviour. A positive side-effect of this approach was that the respondents were more happy to participate in the exercise.

The second research question posed was "Which aspects of social development (and in particular women development) are the most feasible for developing numerical indicators at a micro level?"

In this research sixteen aspects of social development, named development dimensions, were experimented with. Only one development dimension, INTER-HOUSEHOLD CONFLICTS proved to be unsuitable for researching social development, at least in the form it was researched in this study. The reason for this was that the phenomenon of 'shalish' (village court) was used as the only indicator to investigate the development dimension. It became apparent that such village courts were very rare and that this development dimension was therefore unsuitable for studies at the micro level, or village level. Furthermore, the incidence of a 'shalish' occurring appeared to be heavily dependent on the conflict resolving capacities of a few individuals rather than the whole village.

All fifteen remaining development dimensions were able to contribute some insight into the level of social development of the study population.

For a development dimension to be of use in a rapid rural appraisal village study it would ideally have all the following aspects. (This is summarized in Table 3 "CHARACTERISTICS OF THE DEVELOPMENT DIMENSIONS ASSESSED" on page 185).

It should be quick and easy to collect the necessary data. Most development dimensions complied to this condition. For instance, a development dimension like AWARENESS was researched through six simple short questions ('What is the name of the previous president', 'What is his party's name?', 'What are the two big parties' names?', 'How do you make oral saline?' and 'What is the minimum legal

marriage age for women and men?'). Development dimensions which were not quick and easy to research were DIVORCE, POLYGAMY and DOWRY. All three had as drawback that they were such multi-aspect topics that it was not possible to single out a few short-cut indicators.

The development dimension should be suitable for large and small samples. Again, most development dimensions did satisfy this requirement. Only the indicator of AWARENESS was thought to be unsuitable for large samples as the respondents might have been informed of the questions asked and learned the answers by heart before they would be interviewed. ATTITUDE TO SEXUAL VIOLENCE was not thought to be suitable for large samples either as it would be very difficult to create a high level of trust with each of a very large number of respondents. On the other hand, the development dimension of INTER-HOUSEHOLD CONFLICTS was rejected because it could not be used in small samples. When an evaluation with a very large sample is conducted, this development dimension could be reconsidered.

It should be straightforward to express the results in numerical form. All development dimensions complied to this requirement except for DECISION MAKING and DOWRY, both of which data were very hard to express in numerical form.

The method of investigating the development dimension should be replicable in another location, ideally without having to change the indicators used. All development dimensions are expected to satisfy to this condition.

The reliability⁴⁷ of the data should be high. Several development dimensions's performance was weak in this respect. The reliability of the development dimension of DECISION MAKING depended on the respondents' capacity to truthfully summarize what might be a complicated decision making process in which several people can be involved. INTRA-HOUSEHOLD CONFLICTS as a development dimension had as drawback that many critics will argue that the respondents might not want to truthfully present the situation, even though no indication of such was found during the field research for this thesis.

⁴⁷ This aspect is already covered by the 'conclusiveness' of the indicator, but since 'conclusiveness' looks also at other aspects reliability is also mentioned separately here.

Equally, respondents' truthfulness concerning WIFE BATTERING can be open to question.

The indicators used to investigate the development dimension should be interesting to the research subjects or the interviewees. Interviewees need to be responsive. All development dimensions complied to this requirement, because that was one of the main conditions considered when designing the research.

When programme impact is being assessed, it needs to be easy to single out the programme impact from other influences on the development dimension. This is in general difficult for most of the indicators, because there are so many other factors influencing the level of social development of people.

The objective of this research was to contribute to the debate about evaluation of the effectiveness of the NGO approach in practice in initiating social change with specific emphasis on the emancipation of the disadvantaged womenfolk.

The study has indeed contributed to this debate by exploring possibilities of measuring social change for a number of dimensions.

The ultimate aim of the research was to assist the process of developing an index which measures the level of social change. Fifteen out of the sixteen development dimensions were considered to have some worth in assessing social change. Each of them has their advantages and disadvantages. In the list in Table 3 (page 185) each indicator is assessed on numerous aspects: its level of importance, its level of conclusiveness, whether it concerns practical or strategic, gender or general needs, whether it was quick and easy to collect the data necessary for it, whether it was suitable for large samples and for small samples, whether it was straightforward to express the results in numerical form, whether the development dimension's method was replicable in another location, whether the reliability was high, whether the indicators used to investigate the development dimension were interesting to the research subjects and, finally, whether it was easy to single out the programme impact.

This consolidated table can be a guide to anyone who wants to develop a social change index.

Depending on the amount of time that is available and whether the index should or should not be gender biased etc. one can choose anything between one and all fifteen of the development dimensions used in this research. Similarly, according to the priorities and preferences that such a social change index has to meet, varying weights can be given to the chosen development dimensions.

An aim of this research was "to assist the process of developing an index which measures the level of social change". No attempt at actually formulating such an index has been done. To formulate such an index certain choices have to be made, concerning which of these development dimensions should feature in this index and what should be their relative weight. Whatever the way the development dimensions had been chosen and whatever the weight they had been given, would have contained a value judgement. Such a value judgement is best made by the organisation where such an index would be operating and ideally the organisation would make their choice on the basis of their target group's expectations, preferences and priorities.

The entirety of this thesis has done an attempt at formulating and solving a problem in an efficient and inventive fashion. This approach is tradition amongst indigenous NGOs such as the Bangladesh Rural Advancement Committee. NGOs of this type are quite diverse but they do have some common characteristics. 'Empowerment of the poor' and 'solidarity' are possibly the most important of these.

Many documents have been published dealing with indicators to measure development or social development. Most of them proved to be of little use at a micro-level.

What is practice amongst NGOs has been formalized in theories and research methodologies. Two research methodologies, feminist and rapid rural appraisal, were investigated here. Most remarkable was, that these two methodologies had more common characteristics than differences. Both had the central principle of having no principles, or "the... 'rule' of 'no rules'...". The research methodology followed for this research proved to be similar in many respects to those two research methodologies.

This clearly is a justification for the 'topsy-turvy' approach followed in this research. Many of the more interesting findings are due to not obeying stipulations by traditional 'scientific' research methods.

The final conclusion that is drawn is that the research approach proposed in this thesis is useful for evaluating programme impact in terms of social change and gender issues. Additionally, the approach can be replicated to conduct evaluations in other areas of Bangladesh or for other NGOs. It is recommended that the organisation requesting the evaluation makes the choices concerning which dimensions should be included in such an evaluation and which weights should be given between the chosen dimensions and between the aspects investigated within each dimension.

BENGALI WORDS USED

Bangla	=	Bengali, language spoken in Bangladesh
bari	=	a household's homestead (sometimes used meaning village of origin)
bazar	=	open air market
burkah	=	a garment worn by women covering the entire body except for the feet, hands and usually the face
ganja	=	marihuana
ijath	=	a woman's honour
kaca building	=	non-permanent structure
member	=	an administrative post on 'zila' level
moulvi	=	a (Muslim) religious leader (alternative words molla, mollahi)
murri	=	flattened rice flakes
nosto	=	Bengali for 'broken' or 'spoiled'
paka road	=	road with tarmac
prem	=	love
purdah	=	a Muslim code of behaviour for women including modesty and restricting mobility
samity	=	group
sari	=	a long rectangular piece of cloth worn by women
shalish	=	village court
sukhi	=	happy
talak	=	Arabic term for "I divorce thee"
upazila	=	an administrative unit comparable to a county in Britain
zila	=	an administrative unit comparable to a borough in Britain

ACRONYMS

BRAC	Bangladesh Rural Advancement Committee
BRDB	Bangladesh Rural Development Board
GNP	Gross National Product
HHH	Household Head
IRDP	Integrated Rural Development Programme
MCHP	Mother and Child Health Programme
NA	not-applicable
NFPE	Non-Formal Primary Education
NOVIB	Netherlands Organisation for International Development Cooperation
ODA	Overseas Development Administration
PO	Programme Organisers
RCP	Rural Credit Programme
RCTP	Rural Credit and Training Programme
RDP	Rural Development Programme
REP	Rural Enterprise Project
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNICEF	United National Children's Education Fund

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APPENDIX A

TABLES

AWARENESS

TABLE I

Incidence of respondents knowing the right answer

Question	EXPERIMENTAL		CONTROL	
	Men (n=20)	Women (n=34)	Men (n=14)	Women (n=30)
name of old president	0.85	0.62	0.93	0.53
his party's name	0.75	0.29	0.79	0.37
the two big parties' names	0.75	0.41	0.93	0.33
how to make oral saline	0.90	0.97	0.71	0.70
minimum legal marriage age for women*	0.29	0.19	0.13	0.12
minimum legal marriage age for men*	0.03	0.05	0.11	0.02
average for political questions	0.78	0.44	0.88	0.41
how to make oral saline	0.90	0.97	0.71	0.70
average for legal marriage age	0.16	0.12	0.12	0.07

* the score for these have been compositely calculated according to the scoring allocated to each answer as mentioned in the main text on pages 51 and 52

* For the crude data see Table II

TABLE II

RESPONDENTS' LEGAL AWARENESS

What do the respondents think is the legal age of marriage

Question	answer	EXPERIMENTAL		CONTROL	
		men	women	men	women
legal marriage age for women	12	0	0	1	0
	15	0	0	0	1
	16	2	1	1	1
	18	3	4	1	1
	20	3	1	0	2
	21	0	1	0	0
	22	0	1	0	1
	25	0	0	1	0
	don't know	13	25	9	24
legal marriage age for men	18	0	0	1	0
	20	0	1	0	0
	22	1	1	1	1
	24	1	0	0	0
	25	3	5	1	3
	28	2	0	0	0
	30	1	1	0	2
	32	0	0	1	0
	don't know	13	25	9	24

LITERACY AND NUMERACY

TABLE III

UNDER 15 GOING TO SCHOOL

	EXPERIMENTAL		CONTROL	
	boys n=14	girls n=16	boys n=15	girls n=14
younger than 15 not attending school	0.07	0.19	0.53	0.86
younger than 15 attending school, uneducated parents	0.57	0.38	0.00	0.00
younger than 15 attending school, educated parents	0.36	0.44	0.47	0.14

TABLE IV

RESPONDENTS' ABILITY TO WRITE THEIR OWN NAME

	EXPERIMENTAL		CONTROL	
	men n=21	women n=33	men n=13	women n=30
How many respondents can write their name:				
very well	0.48	0.21	0.71	0.27
OK	0.10	0.15	0.14	0.10
just	0.10	0.27	0.00	0.10
TOTAL who can write their name	0.67	0.64	0.86	0.47
not	0.33	0.36	0.14	0.53

TABLE V

RESPONDENTS' ABILITY TO READ

	EXPERIMENTAL		CONTROL	
	men n=21	women n=33	men n=13	women n=30
How many respondents can read a very simple text:				
very well	0.48	0.24	0.69	0.27
OK	0.05	0.06	0.08	0.07
just	0.00	0.12	0.08	0.07
TOTAL who can read a simple text	0.52	0.42	0.85	0.40
not	0.48	0.58	0.15	0.60

LITERACY AND NUMERACY

TABLE VI

RESPONDENTS' ABILITY TO READ 2

	EXPERIMENTAL		CONTROL	
	men	women	men	women
	n=22	n=32	n=13	n=30
How many respondents can read a more advanced text:				
very well	0.45	0.22	0.69	0.27
OK	0.00	0.03	0.00	0.00
just	0.05	0.06	0.15	0.07
TOTAL who can read a more advanced text	0.50	0.31	0.85	0.33
not	0.50	0.69	0.15	0.67

TABLE VII

RESPONDENTS' NUMERACY

	EXPERIMENTAL		CONTROL	
	men	women	men	women
	n=20	n=33	n=13	n=30
How many respondents can accomplish:				
simple addition	0.85	0.63	1.00	0.52
simple subtraction	0.75	0.48	1.00	0.42
more difficult subtraction	0.60	0.12	0.92	0.26
multiplication	0.65	0.21	0.92	0.39

TABLE VIII

HOW MUCH SCHOOLING DID THE FAMILY MEMBERS HAVE?

	EXPERIMENTAL		CONTROL	
	men	women	men	women
	n=62	n=67	n=47	n=45
Studying in / studied up to class:				
no schooling	0.27	0.36	0.38	0.60
BRAC School	0.48	0.12	0.00	0.00
I	0.16	0.03	0.00	0.00
II	0.32	0.10	0.04	0.00
III	0.81	0.03	0.06	0.11
IV	0.65	0.00	0.04	0.09
V	0.65	0.16	0.17	0.07
VI	0.97	0.03	0.00	0.00
VII	0.48	0.04	0.06	0.02
VIII	0.32	0.04	0.06	0.04
IX	0.16	0.04	0.06	0.04
X	0.13	0.03	0.06	0.00
XI	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.02
XII	0.65	0.00	0.02	0.00
BA/BSc	0.32	0.00	0.02	0.00

TABLE IX

RESPONDENTS' DISPUTE PATTERN

Whom did you last have a row with?

answer:	EXPERIMENTAL		CONTROL	
	men n=20	women n=31	men n=13	women n=29
I never have a row	0.35	0.39	0.46	0.55
inside HH:				
with family	0.30	0.10	0.23	0.10
with husband	0.00	0.16	0.00	0.07
with mother-in-law	0.00	0.03	0.00	0.14
with mother	0.05	0.10	0.00	0.00
with other wife	0.00	0.13	0.00	0.00
with wife	0.10	0.00	0.00	0.00
with daughter-in-law	0.00	0.03	0.00	0.03
with son	0.00	0.03	0.00	0.00
with niece	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.03
with bhabi=older sister-in-law	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.03
TOTAL inside HH	0.45	0.58	0.23	0.41
outside HH:				
with neighbours	0.10	0.03	0.08	0.03
with class-mate	0.00	0.00	0.08	0.00
in bazar	0.10	0.00	0.08	0.00
with neighbours resulting in shalish	0.00	0.00	0.08	0.00
TOTAL outside HH	0.20	0.03	0.31	0.03
TOTAL having rows	0.65	0.61	0.54	0.45

CONCEPT OF POWER

TABLE X

Reasons why respondents thought someone was powerful:

	EXPERIMENTAL		CONTROL	
	men n=13	women n=33	men n=25	women n=45
'socially developed' answers:				
'member'	0.31	0.18	0.04	0.00
chairs the shalish/sits in shalish	0.00	0.03	0.20	0.20
he/she is respected	0.08	0.03	0.08	0.00
schoolmaster	0.08	0.00	0.04	0.00
speaks well/gives good advice	0.00	0.03	0.00	0.02
clever	0.00	0.03	0.00	0.00
he/she is helpful	0.08	0.00	0.00	0.00
SUBTOTAL	0.54	0.30	0.36	0.22
neutral answers:				
he/she 'does party'	0.00	0.00	0.12	0.00
service holder	0.00	0.03	0.00	0.02
SUBTOTAL	0.00	0.03	0.12	0.02
traditional answers:				
rich	0.31	0.55	0.36	0.60
has lots of land	0.08	0.06	0.16	0.16
old person	0.00	0.03	0.00	0.00
has influence in the market	0.08	0.00	0.00	0.00
has a lot of children	0.00	0.03	0.00	0.00
SUBTOTAL	0.46	0.67	0.52	0.76
scoring: 1 x incidence 'socially developed answer' + 0.5 x incidence neutral answer' (for measuring empowerment)				
SCORE (empowerment)	0.54	0.32	0.42	0.23
AVERAGE men & women	0.38		0.30	
incidence of women giving a 'socially developed' answer / incidence of men giving a 'socially developed' answer (for measuring women's empowerment)				
SCORE (women's empowerment)	0.56		0.62	

TABLE XI

Who is the most powerful person in your village?

	MEN n=17	WOMEN n=18
Robiul	0.41	0.28
Malek Saddar	0.41	0.17
Shabooti	0.00	0.06
Morol Gusti	0.06	0.00
Iar Ali Mondol	0.00	0.06
Mostafar	0.00	0.06
Niranjan Bhadra	0.00	0.06
Bunu Master	0.06	0.00
don't know	0.06	0.33

CONCEPT OF POWER

TABLE XII

Reasons why respondents thought a certain woman powerful /
incidence of people naming any woman as powerful:

	EXPERIMENTAL		CONTROL	
	men n=13	women n=33	men n=25	women n=45
'socially developed' answers:				
she does lots of good work in BRAC group	0.08	0.09	0.00	0.00
good person	0.08	0.00	0.00	0.00
BRAC group leader	0.00	0.03	0.00	0.00
has a job	0.00	0.03	0.00	0.00
clever	0.00	0.03	0.00	0.00
SUBTOTAL	0.15	0.18	0.00	0.00
traditional answers:				
rich	0.00	0.06	0.00	0.00
a powerful person's wife	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.04
has lots of cows and goats	0.00	0.03	0.00	0.00
no women powerful	0.85	0.73	1.00	0.96
SUBTOTAL	0.85	0.82	1.00	1.00
scoring: 1 x incidence 'socially developed answer' + 0.5 x incidence neutral answer'				
SCORE	0.15	0.18	0.00	0.00
weighted AVERAGE men & women		0.17		0.00
incidence of women mentioned powerful	0.15	0.27	0.00	0.04
weighted AVERAGE men & women		0.24		0.03

DECISION MAKING

TABLE XIII

Who decides upon the crop pattern?

Person	SCORE	EXPERIMENTAL		CONTROL	
		n=31		n=25	
		incidence	scoring	incidence	scoring
male HHH	0	0.74	0.00	0.84	0.00
mature son	0	0.06	0.00	0.08	0.00
female HHH	0.8	0.06	0.05	0.08	0.06
father & mature son(s)	0	0.06	0.00	0.00	0.00
husband and wife	0.8	0.03	0.02	0.00	0.00
don't know	0	0.03	0.00	0.00	0.00
TOTAL SCORE			0.07		0.06

TABLE XIV

Who decides upon the purchase of livestock?

Person	SCORE	EXPERIMENTAL		CONTROL	
		n=53		n=41	
		incidence	scoring	incidence	scoring
Men sole decision makers:					
male HHH	0	0.55	0.00	0.63	0.00
mature son	0	0.09	0.00	0.05	0.00
male HHH & son	0	0.02	0.00	0.07	0.00
SUBTOTAL		0.66	0.00	0.76	0.00
Women sole decision makers:					
female HHH	0.8	0.08	0.06	0.12	0.10
HHH's wife	1	0.08	0.08	0.07	0.07
HHH's mother	1	0.02	0.02	0.00	0.00
HHH's wife & daughter	1	0.02	0.02	0.00	0.00
SUBTOTAL		0.19	0.17	0.20	0.17
Men and women together:					
everyone	0.5	0.06	0.03	0.02	0.01
HHH & wife	0.8	0.06	0.05	0.02	0.02
HHH & brother & mother	0.5	0.02	0.01	0.00	0.00
HHH & mother	0.8	0.02	0.02	0.00	0.00
SUBTOTAL		0.15	0.10	0.05	0.03
TOTAL SCORE			0.27		0.20

DECISION MAKING

TABLE XV

Who decides upon the purchase of land?

Person	SCORE	EXPERIMENTAL		CONTROL	
		n=35		n=23	
		incidence	scoring	incidence	scoring
Men sole decision makers:					
male HHH	0	0.63	0.00	0.78	0.00
mature son	0	0.06	0.00	0.09	0.00
male HHH & son	0	0.06	0.00	0.00	0.00
SUBTOTAL		0.74	0.00	0.87	0.00
Women sole decision makers:					
female HHH	0.8	0.06	0.05	0.09	0.07
Men and women together:					
HHH & wife	0.8	0.09	0.07	0.04	0.04
HHH & brother & mother	0.5	0.03	0.01	0.00	0.00
HHH & wife & sister	0.8	0.03	0.02	0.00	0.00
HHH & mother	0.8	0.03	0.02	0.00	0.00
SUBTOTAL		0.17	0.13	0.04	0.04
Other:					
don't know	0	0.03	0.00	0.00	0.00
TOTAL SCORE			0.17	0.10	

DECISION MAKING

TABLE XVI

Who decides upon the treatment for an ill child?

Person	SCORE	EXPERIMENTAL		CONTROL	
		n=52		n=45	
		incidence	scoring	incidence	scoring
Men sole decision makers:					
child's father	0	0.48	0.00	0.49	0.00
child's grandfather	0	0.17	0.00	0.04	0.00
child's grandfather & father	0	0.06	0.00	0.11	0.00
SUBTOTAL		0.71	0.00	0.64	0.00
Women sole decision makers:					
female HHH (mother)	0.8	0.04	0.03	0.11	0.09
HHH's wife (mother)	1	0.04	0.04	0.07	0.07
child's mother & mat grandmc	1	0.04	0.04	0.00	0.00
all women	1	0.00	0.00	0.04	0.04
grandmother	1	0.02	0.02	0.00	0.00
SUBTOTAL		0.13	0.13	0.22	0.20
Men and women together:					
child's father & grandmother	0.8	0.02	0.02	0.00	0.00
male HHH & wife & sister	0.8	0.02	0.02	0.00	0.00
child's parents	0.8	0.10	0.08	0.09	0.07
everyone	0.5	0.00	0.00	0.04	0.02
male HHH & mother	0.8	0.02	0.02	0.00	0.00
SUBTOTAL		0.15	0.12	0.13	0.09
TOTAL SCORE			0.25	0.29	

DECISION MAKING

TABLE XVII

Who decides upon the purchase of children's clothes?

Person	SCORE	EXPERIMENTAL		CONTROL	
		n=59		n=43	
		incidence	scoring	incidence	scoring
Men sole decision makers:					
child's father	0	0.71	0.00	0.58	0.00
child's father & eldest brother	0	0.03	0.00	0.07	0.00
child's grandfather	0	0.05	0.00	0.02	0.00
child's grandfather & father	0	0.05	0.00	0.02	0.00
child's brother	0	0.02	0.00	0.00	0.00
SUBTOTAL		0.86	0.00	0.70	0.00
Women sole decision makers:					
female HHH (mother)	0.8	0.07	0.05	0.12	0.09
HHH's wife (mother)	1	0.03	0.03	0.00	0.00
child's mother & mat grandmc	1	0.00	0.00	0.05	0.05
SUBTOTAL		0.10	0.09	0.16	0.14
Men and women together:					
everyone	0.5	0.00	0.00	0.05	0.02
male HHH & mother	0.8	0.02	0.01	0.09	0.07
child's father & grandmother	0.8	0.02	0.01	0.00	0.00
SUBTOTAL		0.03	0.03	0.14	0.10
			0.12		0.24

DECISION MAKING

TABLE XVIII

Who decides upon family planning?

Person	SCORE	EXPERIMENTAL		CONTROL	
		n=15		n=18	
		incidence	scoring	incidence	scoring
Men sole decision makers:					
husband	0	0.13	0.00	0.06	0.00
Women sole decision makers:					
wife	0	0.53	0.00	0.33	0.00
daughter	0	0.07	0.00	0.00	0.00
Men and women together:					
husband & wife	1	0.27	0.27	0.61	0.61
			0.27		0.61

TABLE XIX

Who decides upon the method of family planning?

Person	SCORE	EXPERIMENTAL		CONTROL	
		n=15		n=18	
		incidence	scoring	incidence	scoring
Men sole decision makers:					
husband	0	0.13	0.00	0.06	0.00
Women sole decision makers:					
wife	0	0.60	0.00	0.50	0.00
daughter	0	0.07	0.00	0.00	0.00
Men and women together:					
husband & wife	1	0.20	0.20	0.44	0.44
TOTAL SCORE			0.20	0.44	

FAMILY PLANNING

TABLE XX

What planned parenthood methods do the respondents use?

method	EXPERIMENTAL		CONTROL	
	wants more	wants no more	wants more	wants no more
	children	children	children	children
	n=12	n=16	n=8	n=14
lygation	0.00	0.25	0.00	0.14
vasectomy	0.00	0.13	0.00	0.00
condom	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
pill	0.00	0.25	0.25	0.36
injection	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.07
coil	0.00	0.06	0.00	0.00
abstention	0.08	0.00	0.00	0.00
nothing	0.92	0.31	0.75	0.43

CHILDBEARING BEHAVIOUR

TABLE XXI

List of childbearing behaviour of all women respondents

A = number of children already born

B = number of children they still want

C = number of children they think ideal

D = A - C (discrepancy between desired number of children and actual - only in case B=0)

E = ages of children

EXPERIMENTAL						CONTROL					
A	B	C	D	YEAR FIRST CHILD BORN	E	A	B	C	D	YEAR FIRST CHILD BORN	E
6	0	2	4	53	38,...,18	6	0	2	4	51	40,...,16
4	0	2	2	55	36,30,25,20	13	Allah	Allah	?	56	35,...,4
6	0	4	2	56	35,...,25,21,16,13		gives	gives			
4	0	2.5	1.5	56	35,30,28,13	9	0	4.5	-4.5	56	35,...,6
4	0	3	1	60	31,30,...,24	5	0	2	3	65	26,...,10
4	0	4	?	61	30,28,22,18	4	0	3	-1	66	25,21,20,11
7	0	2.5	4.5	63	28,22,20,15,12,9	6	0	2.5	-3.5	69	22,19,...,0.5
5	0	2.5	2.5	66	25,24,20,17,13	3	0	2	1	72	19,17,14
3	0	4	-1	68	23,16,13	1	NA	3	-2	74	17
3	0	4	-1	70	21,16,10	3	0	3.5	-0.5	80	11,7,4
4	0	3	1	72	19,13,9,3	3	0	2	1	81	10,8,4
6	0	2	4	74	17,15,13,11,9,2	2	0	2	0	81	10,7
1	NA	2	-1	81	10	3	0	3	0	83	8,5,1.5
3	1 or 2	2	NA	81	10,8,1.5	2	1	2.5	NA	83	8,3
1	1 or 2	2	NA	81	10	3	0	3.5	-0.5	83	8,5,4
2	0	2	0	83	8,5	2	0	2.5	-0.5	84	7,5
3	0	4	-1	84	7,6,3	1	1	4	NA	86	5
1	1	2	NA	85	8	1	1	2	NA	87	4.5
2	0	2	0	85	8,1.5	1	0	1	0	88	3
1	2	2.5	NA	85	6	1	1	2	NA	89	2
2	0	2	0	88	3,0.5	1	2	4	NA	89	2
1	0	1	0	88	3	4	0	4	0		?
1	3	3	NA	90	0.5	0	3.5	3.5	NA		
1	1	2	NA	90	0.5	0	3	3	NA		
2	0	2.5	0.5		?	0	0	2.5	NA		
0	1 or 2	1.5	NA								
0	2	2	NA								
0	2	2	NA								

CHILDBEARING BEHAVIOUR

TABLE XXII

What do the respondents think is the ideal number of children

	EXPERIMENTAL		CONTROL	
	men n=21	women n=33	men n=14	women n=30
1 child	0.05	0.03	0.07	0.03
1 to 2 children	0.00	0.03	0.00	0.00
2 children	0.33	0.55	0.57	0.37
2 to 3 children	0.05	0.15	0.00	0.13
3 children	0.14	0.09	0.14	0.17
3 to 4 children	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.10
4 children	0.10	0.12	0.14	0.13
4 to 5 children	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.03
17 children	0.00	0.03	0.00	0.00
as many as Alla God gives	0.00	0.00	0.07	0.03
no answer	0.29	0.00	0.00	0.00
don't know	0.05	0.00	0.00	0.00

TABLE XXIII

How old were the respondents when they had their first child?

age	EXPERIMENTAL		CONTROL	
	before 1986	1986 and after	before 1986	1986 and after
12	2	0	1	0
13	0	0	2	0
14	3	1	4	0
15	2	2	2	3
16	3	0	1	0
17	2	1	2	0
18	2	0	3	1
19	2	1	0	1
21	1	1	0	0
25	0	1	0	0
32	0	0	1	0
don't know	1	0	0	0
AVERAGE	16.06	18.08	16.25	16.4

MARRIAGE AGE

TABLE XXIV

How old should a girl be when she gets married?

age	EXPERIMENTAL		CONTROL	
	men n=21	women n=33	men n=14	women n=30
9	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.03
10	0.00	0.06	0.00	0.07
11	0.00	0.09	0.00	0.10
12	0.10	0.09	0.00	0.33
13	0.19	0.00	0.14	0.00
14	0.05	0.00	0.00	0.00
15	0.05	0.21	0.14	0.10
16	0.10	0.06	0.07	0.07
17	0.00	0.09	0.14	0.00
18	0.05	0.06	0.07	0.07
19	0.14	0.03	0.14	0.00
20	0.10	0.18	0.29	0.17
21	0.19	0.03	0.00	0.07
22	0.00	0.06	0.00	0.00
25	0.05	0.03	0.00	0.00
Average	17.19	16.42	17.29	14.57

TABLE XXV

How old should a boy be when he gets married?

age	EXPERIMENTAL		CONTROL	
	men n=21	women n=33	men n=14	women n=30
10.5	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.03
15	0.05	0.03	0.00	0.03
17	0.00	0.03	0.00	0.00
20	0.05	0.06	0.00	0.13
21	0.00	0.03	0.00	0.03
22	0.05	0.12	0.14	0.07
23	0.10	0.03	0.00	0.00
24	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.07
25	0.29	0.33	0.57	0.33
26	0.00	0.03	0.00	0.03
27	0.19	0.15	0.14	0.07
28	0.14	0.00	0.00	0.00
29	0.00	0.00	0.07	0.00
30	0.14	0.15	0.07	0.10
32	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.07
35	0.00	0.03	0.00	0.00
15-30	0.60	0.00	0.00	0.03
Average	25.48	25.00	25.50	24.17

MARRIAGE AGE

TABLE XXVI

The age that men of the interviewed families got married at:

EXPERIMENTAL		CONTROL	
YEAR	AGE	YEAR	AGE
1949	20	1957	25
1950	25	1958	20
1950	20	1958	28
1952	22	1960	18
1954	29	1961	23
1956	30	1961	23
1957	27	1963	19
1961	19	1966	19
1963	30	1969	21
1964	20	1976	37
1965	30	1979	19
1969	21	1980	23
1969	26	1980	18
1969	22	1984	24
1974	12	1985	20
1977	20	1985	21
1978	18	1987	23
1978	18	1987	27
1980	18	1988	23
1981	25	1988	23
1982	24	1989	27
1983	19	1990	20
1983	24	1990	18
1984	22		
1984	20		
1984	24		
1985	25		
1985	25		
1988	27		
1988	24		
1988	20		
1988	21		
1989	19		
1989	19		
1989	25		

MARRIAGE AGE

TABLE XXVII

The age that women of the interviewed households got married at:

EXPERIMENTAL		CONTROL	
YEAR	AGE	YEAR	AGE
1932	12	1950	12
1936	16	1957	9
1940	10	1958	13
1946	12	1958	8
1949	8	1960	10
1950	10	1961	8
1950	15	1962	6
1952	7	1962	6
1952	12	1963	14
1953	17	1966	11
1956	13	1969	14
1957	12	1972	16
1961	11	1976	19
1963	13	1979	14
1966	12	1980	14
1969	14	1980	13
1970	15	1981	17
1972	18	1984	8
1974	7	1985	15
1977	12	1985	15
1978	12	1987	21
1978	12	1987	13
1980	15	1988	16
1982	16	1988	17
1983	15	1989	11
1983	18		
1983	17		
1984	16		
1984	13		
1985	17		
1988	16		
1988	16		
1988	15		
1988	11		
1988	17		
1989	17		
1989	15		
1989	15		
1989	17		
1989	12		

MARRIAGE AGE

TABLE XXVIII

The age discrepancy time trend between husband and wife

EXPERIMENTAL		CONTROL	
YEAR	AGE	YEAR	AGE
1949	12	1957	16
1950	10	1958	7
1950	10	1958	20
1952	15	1960	8
1954	12	1961	15
1956	17	1962	17
1957	15	1962	17
1961	8	1963	5
1963	17	1966	8
1966	8	1970	7
1969	6	1976	18
1969	12	1979	5
1974	5	1980	5
1977	8	1984	16
1978	6	1985	5
1978	6	1985	6
1980	6	1987	10
1981	9	1987	6
1982	8	1988	6
1982	3	1989	16
1983	4		
1983	6		
1984	11		
1984	6		
1985	8		
1987	11		
1988	8		
1988	4		
1989	2		
1989	1		
1989	10		
1989	8		
1989	9		

DIVORCE

TABLE XXIX

Under what circumstances is divorce acceptable?

reason	EXPERIMENTAL		CONTROL	
	men	women	men	women
	n=21	n=31	n=14	n=30
wife mad	0.19	0.26	0.07	0.24
no children	0.14	0.06	0.00	0.03
years they should wait	7,5,10	13,5,11	NA	4
only daughters	0.05	0.00	0.00	0.00
when you can't stand your partner	0.00	0.03	0.00	0.00
if wife not fair (=light skin=beautiful)	0.05	0.00	0.00	0.00

TABLE XXX

How many respondents think divorce bad and why?

	EXPERIMENTAL		CONTROL	
	men	women	men	women
	n=16	n=28	n=13	n=28
DIVORCE IS BAD BECAUSE:				
'socially developed' answers:				
where does the girl go/what will she do/	0.50	0.43	0.31	0.54
bad for he girl's future/her life goes spoiled				
the girl gets hurt/it is bad for the girl	0.00	0.07	0.00	0.11
it causes lots of problems	0.00	0.04	0.00	0.00
SUBTOTAL	0.50	0.54	0.31	0.64
neutral answers:				
the girl cannot be married again	0.19	0.07	0.31	0.21
you only marry once	0.19	0.18	0.15	0.07
after taking the girl it is bad to give her back	0.00	0.07	0.08	0.00
against our religion	0.00	0.07	0.00	0.04
because they say in the 'samity' that it is bad	0.00	0.04	0.00	0.00
then you can't trust anybody	0.06	0.00	0.00	0.00
against the law	0.00	0.00	0.08	0.00
Allah doesn't like it	0.00	0.00	0.08	0.00
it is a sin	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.04
SUBTOTAL	0.44	0.43	0.69	0.36
traditional answer				
bad because the parents gave money	0.00	0.04	0.00	0.00
IT IS NOT BAD:				
if you observe Islamic rules it's OK	0.06	0.00	0.00	0.00

POLYGAMY

TABLE XXXI

Under what circumstances do the respondents think that polygamy is acceptable

reason	EXPERIMENTAL		CONTROL	
	men n=17	women n=37	men n=14	women n=30
wife mad	0.53	0.54	0.79	0.93
no children	0.53	0.54	0.57	0.83
years they should wait	2.5,3.5,4,5,6, 1.5,2.5,4,2x6,9, 6,2x7,10,12,25, 4,3x5,6,7,2 8,11,till wife is 4x10,2x11,12,26a 'medical' 3x9,2x10,1 2x15,27			
only daughters	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.03
in case its love	0.00	0.03	0.00	0.00

TABLE XXXII

Do the respondents think polygamy or divorce worse?

reason	EXPERIMENTAL		CONTROL	
	men n=21	women n=32	men n=15	women n=28
polygamy	0.57	0.63	0.47	0.46
divorce	0.43	0.38	0.47	0.54
it is the same	0.00	0.00	0.07	0.00

DOWRY

TABLE XXXIII

How many respondents paid/received dowry for their daughter/son and how much?

(The price indicated is in taka which at the time had an exchange rate of

50 taka to 1 pound sterling. Inflation has been taken into account

by collecting the data on the items and estimating the money equivalent in current prices.

EXPERIMENTAL				CONTROL			
MUSLIM		HINDU		MUSLIM		HINDU	
year	price	year	price	year	price	year	price
1970	1500	1966	0	1978	20000	1975	0
1972	1000	1969	0	1979	0	1984	0
1972	0	1971	0	1980	0	1986	0
1972	0	1972	0	1984	0	1989	2600
1975	0	1980	0	1984	500		
1975	0	1981	0	1985	400		
1975	2700	1982	0	1986	0		
1978	0	1982	0	1986	4200		
1978	0	1984	0	1986	0		
1978	0	1985	0	1986	0		
1979	0	1988	20000	1988	400		
1980	2700	1989	0	1988	500		
1981	4000	1990	0	1989	2000		
1981	3000			1989	0		
1982	500			1990	0		
1984	0						
1984	0						
1985	10000						
1985	0						
1988	0						
1988	0						
1988	5000						
1989	0						
1989	0						
1989	0						
1990	0						
1990	0						
1990	0						
1990	0						

DOWRY

TABLE XXXIV

How many respondents themselves paid/received a dowry upon marriage and how much

(The price indicated is in taka which at the time had an exchange rate of 50 taka to 1 pound sterling. Inflation has been taken into account by collecting the data on the items and estimating the money equivalent in current prices.

EXPERIMENTAL				CONTROL			
MUSLIM		HINDU		MUSLIM		HINDU	
year	price	year	price	year	price	year	price
1950	0	1947	0	1950	0	1932	0
1950	0	1956	0	1957	0	1958	0
1950	4000	1969	500	1961	1400	1962	12000
1952	0	1981	0	1961	1000	1962	0
1952	0	1982	0	1963	0	1970	0
1954	3000	1982	0	1966	0	1980	400
1964	0	1988	20000	1968	0	1984	0
1965	0	1990	8000	1972	0	1988	10000
1969	0			1976	1000		
1970	0			1980	3600		
1973	0			1980	10000		
1975	0			1981	0		
1977	0			1982	2000		
1978	0			1985	4100		
1981	0			1985	0		
1982	3000			1987	5000		
1984	500			1987	0		
1984	0			1987	3500		
1985	0			1991	0		
1988	0						
1988	0						
1989	0						
1990	0						
1990	0						

DOWRY

TABLE XXXV

Do the respondents think the dowry system is bad?

REASONS	EXPERIMENTAL				CONTROL			
	MUSLIM		HINDU		MUSLIM		HINDU	
	men	women	men	women	men	women	men	women
	n=15	n=26	n=6	n=7	n=9	n=2	n=5	n=9
TOTAL ANSWERING DOWRY IS BAD	12	15	6	6	9	17	5	6
'Socially developed' answers:								
poor people's daughters cannot marry because of it	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.22	0.00	0.40	0.11
we are poor. the girl herself should have the value	0.07	0.00	0.00	0.14	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
then the girl feels like they have to pay to get rid of her	0.07	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
you don't sell your daughter or whatever	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.14	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
it gives problems to women	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.05	0.00	0.00
poor people's daughters are divorced if no dowry	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.05	0.00	0.00
SUBTOTAL	0.13	0.00	0.00	0.29	0.22	0.10	0.40	0.11
neutral answers:								
not everyone can give	0.13	0.19	0.00	0.00	0.33	0.14	0.40	0.00
i am a haji, it is bad/it is not islamic	0.13	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.14	0.00	0.00
if poor they might have to sell land for it	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.19	0.00	0.11
against the law	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.22	0.00	0.00	0.00
I did not give any for my wedding	0.00	0.04	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
it puts pressure on people	0.07	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
the fact that they demand is bad	0.07	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.10	0.00	0.22
I am poor and it is stupid	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.14	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
because it is bad!	0.07	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
SUBTOTAL	0.47	0.23	0.00	0.14	0.56	0.57	0.4	0.33
traditional answers:								
I am poor	0.13	0.19	0.33	0.00	0.11	0.14	0.40	0.22
it is expensive	0.07	0.08	0.33	0.29	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
it is bad for the father	0.00	0.00	0.17	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
because I don't want to give my money away	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.14	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
?	0.00	0.08	0.17	0.00	0.11	0.00	0.00	0.00
SUBTOTAL	0.20	0.27	1.00	0.43	0.22	0.14	0.40	0.22
INCIDENCE DOWRY IS NOT BAD:	0.20	0.42	0.00	0.14	0.00	0.19	0.00	0.33
the girl stays happy	0.20	0.35	0.00	0.14	0.00	0.14	0.00	0.00
then the girl will not suffer	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.22
the in-laws will be happy	0.00	0.04	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.05	0.00	0.00
it is good to give	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.11
?	0.00	0.04	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00

DOWRY

TABLE XXXVI

"Who suffers most under the dowry system?"

	EXPERIMENTAL				CONTROL			
	MUSLIM		HINDU		MUSLIM		HINDU	
	men n=8	women n=12	men n=4	women n=3	men n=8	women n=13	men n=5	women n=4
'Socially developed' answers:								
girls/women	0.25	0.42	0.00	0.00	0.38	0.23	0.40	0.00
neutral answers:								
poor people	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.31	0.00	0.25
Traditional answers:								
girl's father	0.25	0.42	0.50	0.00	0.13	0.23	0.20	0.50
girl's parents	0.13	0.17	0.50	0.67	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
those that give dowry	0.25	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.23	0.00	0.00
girl's mother	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.25	0.00	0.40	0.25
girl's husband	0.13	0.00	0.00	0.33	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
?	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.25	0.00	0.00	0.00
SUBTOTAL	0.75	0.58	1.00	1.00	0.63	0.46	0.60	0.75

DOWRY

TABLE XXXVII

Do the respondents intend to give dowry for their daughters?

	EXPERIMENTAL				CONTROL			
	MUSLIM		HINDU		MUSLIM		HINDU	
	men	women	men	women	men	women	men	women
	n=12	n=20	n=4	n=4	n=10	n=2	n=2	n=6
NO (considered socially developed answer)								
reason:								
we have no money	0.00	0.25	0.00	0.25	0.20	0.40	0.50	0.33
dowry did not used to exist	0.00	0.10	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
it is against the law	0.08	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
I will only give if necessary	0.00	0.05	0.00	0.25	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
because it is a sin	0.08	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
I don't like it and I have no money	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.10	0.00	0.00	0.00
when I got married I did not give,	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.04	0.00	0.00
so why should my daughter give?								
SUBTOTAL	0.17	0.40	0.00	0.50	0.30	0.44	0.50	0.33
YES (considered traditional answer)								
reason:								
if you don't the girl won't get married	0.00	0.00	0.20	0.25	0.20	0.20	0.50	0.67
the girl stays happy	0.25	0.20	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.12	0.00	0.00
everyone has to give nowadays	0.17	0.05	0.40	0.25	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
if I have to I will give	0.17	0.10	0.00	0.00	0.10	0.04	0.00	0.00
if you don't the in-laws won't keep her	0.08	0.10	0.00	0.00	0.10	0.08	0.00	0.00
you have to if they demand it	0.00	0.00	0.20	0.00	0.10	0.04	0.00	0.00
because I have lots of money	0.00	0.05	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.04	0.00	0.00
if I can't avoid it	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.04	0.00	0.00
yes, but I won't call it dowry	0.08	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
because I want to give something	0.00	0.05	0.00	0.00	0.10	0.00	0.00	0.00
?	0.08	0.05	0.20	0.00	0.10	0.00	0.00	0.00
SUBTOTAL	0.83	0.60	1.00	0.50	0.70	0.16	0.50	0.67

DOWRY

TABLE XXXVIII

Do the respondents think that their son will demand dowry or not?

	EXPERIMENTAL				CONTROL			
	MUSLIM		HINDU		MUSLIM		HINDU	
	men	women	men	women	men	women	men	women
	n=15	n=26	n=6	n=7	n=9	n=21	n=6	n=8
NO	0.93	0.69	0.83	0.86	1.00	0.76	0.83	0.63
YES	0.07	0.12	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.10	0.00	0.38
don't know	0.00	0.19	0.17	0.14	0.00	0.00	0.17	0.00
will be son's decision	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.14	0.00	0.00

TABLE XXXIX

Do the respondents think that the dowry system should be changed?

	EXPERIMENTAL				CONTROL			
	MUSLIM		HINDU		MUSLIM		HINDU	
	men	women	men	women	men	women	men	women
	n=15	n=26	n=6	n=7	n=10	n=2	n=4	n=6
NO	0.00	0.15	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.25	0.00	0.17
YES	1.00	0.81	1.00	1.00	1.00	0.75	1.00	0.83
?	0.00	0.04	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00

TABLE XXXX

Do the respondents who think that dowry is good, think that current dowry prices are too high?

	EXPERIMENTAL				CONTROL			
	MUSLIM		HINDU		MUSLIM		HINDU	
	men	women	men	women	men	women	men	women
	n=3	n=11	n=0	n=0	n=0	n=6	n=0	n=0
NO	0.33	0.27	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.17	0.00	0.00
YES	0.33	0.64	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.83	0.00	0.00
?	0.33	0.09	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00

PURDAH

TABLE XXXXI

How many of the respondents wear burkah?

	EXPERIMENTAL n=33	CONTROL n=30
YES	0.06	0.30
NO	0.94	0.70

TABLE XXXXII

How many of the respondents used to wear burkah?

	EXPERIMENTAL n=32	CONTROL n=29
YES	0.06	0.34
NO	0.94	0.66

TABLE XXXXIII

Does the respondent's daughter/daughter-in-law wear burkah?

YES=1 NO=0

EXPERIMENTAL(n=14)			CONTROL (n=9)		
RESPONDENT	DAUGHTER	DAUGHTER-IN-LAW	RESPONDENT	DAUGHTER	DAUGHTER-IN-LAW
1	1	1	1	0	1
0	0	NA	0	0	0
0	0	0	1	1	NA
0	0	NA	0	0	NA
0	0	NA	0	0	0
0	0	NA	0	0	0
0	0	NA	1	1	1
0	0	0	0	0	0
0	0	NA	1	NA	1
0	0	1			
0	0	0			
0	0	0			
0	1	1			
0	0	NA			

PURDAH

TABLE XXXXIV

How many people went outside their 'bari' (=house) on the day before the interview and where did they go?

	EXPERIMENTAL		CONTROL	
	men n=21	women n=31	men n=13	women n=26
did not go	0.00	0.29	0.08	0.50
next door	0.00	0.23	0.00	0.19
to field	0.24	0.13	0.08	0.08
to pond	0.00	0.03	0.00	0.00
to school	0.00	0.06	0.00	0.00
nearest bazar	0.38	0.03	0.54	0.08
within village	0.19	0.03	0.08	0.04
to the mosque	0.05	0.00	0.00	0.00
to the river	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.08
town 30-40 mins. away	0.10	0.06	0.15	0.00
outside village	0.05	0.10	0.08	0.04
to BRAC pond	0.00	0.03	0.00	0.00

TABLE XXXXV

How many people went outside their 'bari' on the day of the interview and where did they go?

	EXPERIMENTAL		CONTROL	
	men n=20	women n=33	men n=14	women n=30
did not go	0.52	0.42	0.57	0.77
next door	0.00	0.32	0.00	0.13
to field	0.19	0.10	0.14	0.03
to pond	0.00	0.10	0.00	0.03
to school	0.00	0.06	0.00	0.00
nearest bazar	0.10	0.06	0.21	0.00
within village	0.10	0.00	0.07	0.00
to the mosque	0.05	0.00	0.00	0.00
to the river	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.03

PURDAH

TABLE XXXXVI

What did the respondents go out for on the day before the interview?

	EXPERIMENTAL		CONTROL	
	men n=21	women n=21	men n=12	women n=30
visiting	0.00	0.38	0.25	0.50
work on field	0.29	0.00	0.00	0.07
washing/collecting water	0.00	0.05	0.00	0.07
cow/goat rearing	0.00	0.19	0.00	0.07
studying/madrassa	0.00	0.14	0.00	0.07
inspecting crops	0.10	0.00	0.08	0.00
buy medicine/doing bazar	0.10	0.00	0.33	0.07
working as an employee	0.14	0.00	0.25	0.00
doing business	0.24	0.00	0.08	0.00
fishing	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.14
to pray	0.05	0.00	0.00	0.00
have a cup of tea	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
collecting sewing/doing sewing work	0.00	0.05	0.00	0.00
to parents meeting	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
working at BRAC pond	0.00	0.05	0.00	0.00
collecting bamboo	0.05	0.00	0.00	0.00
visit BRDB office/police	0.05	0.05	0.00	0.00
to the doctor	0.00	0.05	0.00	0.00
use the lavatory	0.00	0.05	0.00	0.00

PURDAH

TABLE XXXXVII

What did the respondents go out for on the day of the interview?

	EXPERIMENTAL		CONTROL	
	men n=9	women n=21	men n=6	women n=7
visiting	0.00	0.35	0.00	0.57
work on field	0.44	0.05	0.17	0.00
washing/collecting water	0.00	0.15	0.00	0.14
cow/goat rearing	0.00	0.10	0.00	0.14
studying/madrassa	0.00	0.15	0.00	0.00
inspecting crops	0.22	0.00	0.17	0.00
buy medicine/doing bazar	0.11	0.00	0.33	0.00
working as an employee	0.00	0.00	0.33	0.00
doing business	0.00	0.05	0.00	0.00
fishing	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.14
to pray	0.11	0.00	0.00	0.00
have a cup of tea	0.11	0.00	0.00	0.00
collecting sewing/doing sewing work	0.00	0.10	0.00	0.00
to parents meeting	0.00	0.05	0.00	0.00

TABLE XXXXVIII

Did the respondents go out alone and if not, with whom did they go out?
(on the day before the interview)

	EXPERIMENTAL		CONTROL	
	men n=21	women n=21	men n=12	women n=13
alone	0.95	0.67	0.75	0.62
with small son	0.00	0.05	0.08	0.00
with mother-in-law	0.00	0.05	0.00	0.08
with sister-in-law	0.00	0.05	0.00	0.15
with someone	0.05	0.05	0.17	0.08
with class-mates/group members	0.00	0.10	0.00	0.00
with sister	0.00	0.05	0.00	0.08

PURDAH

TABLE XXXIX

Did the respondents go out alone and if not, with whom did they go out?
(on the day of the interview)

	EXPERIMENTAL		CONTROL	
	men n=9	women n=20	men n=6	women n=7
alone	1.00	0.70	0.83	0.86
with small son	0.00	0.05	0.17	0.00
with mother-in-law	0.00	0.05	0.00	0.00
with sister-in-law	0.00	0.05	0.00	0.14
with someone	0.00	0.05	0.00	0.00
with class-mates/group members	0.00	0.05	0.00	0.00
with sister	0.00	0.05	0.00	0.00

TABLE L

Whether the interviewees went on their own or with someone when leaving the village

	EXPERIMENTAL		CONTROL	
	men n=20	women n=33	men n=14	women n=29
alone	0.80	0.18	0.86	0.21
with class-mates/group members/friends	0.10	0.21	0.00	0.14
with husband	0.00	0.21	0.00	0.17
with daughter/grand-daughter(s)	0.00	0.18	0.00	0.07
with motherinlaw/mother/grandma	0.00	0.12	0.07	0.10
with sister	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.17
with others	0.10	0.06	0.00	0.00
with small son	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.14
with brother	0.00	0.03	0.00	0.00
with whole family	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
with wife	0.00	0.00	0.07	0.00

PURDAH

TABLE LI

How many days is it since the respondents have been outside their village?

	EXPERIMENTAL		CONTROL	
	men n=21	women n=32	men n=14	women n=30
1 days	0.38	0.13	0.43	0.07
2 days	0.29	0.00	0.07	0.07
3 days	0.05	0.00	0.00	0.07
4 days	0.00	0.00	0.14	0.07
5 days	0.05	0.00	0.14	0.07
6 days	0.00	0.03	0.00	0.00
7 days	0.05	0.03	0.00	0.00
8 days	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.03
10 days	0.00	0.03	0.00	0.10
12 days	0.05	0.00	0.00	0.00
14 days	0.00	0.03	0.00	0.00
15 days	0.10	0.06	0.14	0.13
16 days	0.00	0.03	0.00	0.03
19 days	0.00	0.03	0.00	0.00
20 days	0.05	0.03	0.00	0.03
21 days	0.00	0.03	0.00	0.00
25 days	0.00	0.09	0.00	0.00
30 days	0.00	0.16	0.00	0.03
45 days	0.00	0.06	0.00	0.03
60 days	0.05	0.06	0.00	0.03
90 days	0.00	0.03	0.07	0.13
120 days	0.00	0.03	0.00	0.00
180 days	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.07
365 days	0.00	0.06	0.00	0.03
730 days	0.00	0.06	0.00	0.00

PURDAH

TABLE LII

How far did the respondents travel outside their village?
(these are usually bus journeys)

	EXPERIMENTAL		CONTROL	
	men n=20	women n=30	men n=14	women n=30
5 minutes	0.00	0.03	0.00	0.00
10 minutes	0.35	0.40	0.31	0.31
30 minutes	0.35	0.33	0.23	0.35
45 minutes	0.25	0.20	0.08	0.08
60 minutes	0.00	0.00	0.31	0.15
120 minutes	0.05	0.00	0.00	0.12
180 minutes	0.00	0.03	0.08	0.00
AVERAGE TRAVEL	31.25min	29.17min	45.76min	40 min

TABLE LIII

Purpose on which the respondents went outside their village:

	EXPERIMENTAL		CONTROL	
	men n=21	women n=34	men n=12	women n=29
'socially developed' answers:				
doing bazar	0.14	0.00	0.00	0.10
doing business	0.33	0.00	0.17	0.03
voting	0.05	0.18	0.00	0.00
visiting BRAC office/BRDB office	0.00	0.15	0.00	0.03
working as an employee	0.05	0.00	0.25	0.03
file a case	0.05	0.00	0.00	0.00
SUBTOTAL	0.62	0.32	0.42	0.21
neutral answers:				
visit the doctor/buy medicine	0.05	0.06	0.00	0.10
studying/madrass	0.00	0.03	0.00	0.00
have photos taken	0.00	0.03	0.00	0.00
go to cinema	0.00	0.00	0.08	0.00
SUBTOTAL	0.05	0.12	0.00	0.10
traditional answers:				
visiting	0.24	0.50	0.58	0.69
go to a wedding	0.00	0.03	0.00	0.00
get married	0.00	0.03	0.00	0.00
have a cup of tea	265 0.05	0.00	0.00	0.00
bride viewing	0.05	0.00	0.00	0.00
SUBTOTAL	0.33	0.56	0.58	0.69

PURDAH

TABLE LIV

What types of activities do women leave their 'bari' for?

	EXPERIMENTAL n=28		CONTROL n=28	
	YES	NO	YES	NO
work	0.68	0.32	0.64	0.36
marketing	0.07	0.93	0.18	0.82
socialising	1.00	0.00	0.96	0.04
other	0.21	0.79	0.11	0.89
mentioned for 'other':				
BRAC/BRDB office	0.04		0.04	
doctor	0.11		0.04	
studying	0.07		0.07	
weddings	0.04		0.00	

TABLE LV

Does the respondent's husband approve of them going out?

	EXPERIMENTAL (n=25)	CONTROL (n=20)
YES	1.00	0.90
NO	0.00	0.10

TABLE LVI

Do the women respondents feel that their daughter goes out more than they did when they were young?

	EXPERIMENTAL n=15	CONTROL n=12
NO	0.40	0.53
YES	0.60	0.42
reason:		
times are better for girls now/	0.29	0.08
my parents did not let me		
my daughter goes to school	0.14	0.08
now girls go watch TV/visiting	0.07	0.17
I want my daughter to go out more	0.07	0.00
because my daughter goes to BRAC group	0.07	0.00
my daughter does the marketing	0.00	0.08

ATTITUDE TO SEXUAL VIOLENCE

TABLE LVII

What would villagers do in case their daughter gets sexually violated?

	EXPERIMENTAL		CONTROL	
	men n=21	women n=30	men n=13	women n=25
'socially developed' answer:				
call a 'shalish'/file a case	0.76	0.53	0.77	0.36
neutral answers:				
punish the boy herself/beat up the boy	0.00	0.03	0.00	0.08
the boy and girl should be hit	0.00	0.03	0.00	0.00
don't know what to do	0.05	0.00	0.00	0.16
SUBTOTAL	0.05	0.07	0.00	0.24
traditional answers:				
nothing	0.05	0.10	0.23	0.20
marry her off quickly/marry her off	0.14	0.20	0.00	0.08
marry her off to the offender	0.00	0.03	0.00	0.08
I will do nothing but I will remember it/	0.00	0.07	0.00	0.00
I will cry and remember it				
tell your daughter to be more careful	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.04
SUBTOTAL	0.19	0.40	0.23	0.40

TABLE LVIII

Will the respondents tell others in case their daughter gets raped?

	EXPERIMENTAL		CONTROL	
	men n=21	women n=30	men n=20	women n=23
answer:				
YES	0.71	0.60	0.40	0.48
NO	0.19	0.40	0.60	0.48
don't know	0.10	0.00	0.00	0.04

ATTITUDE TO SEXUAL VIOLENCE

TABLE LIX

Will the respondents marry their daughter off more quickly if she gets raped?

answer:	EXPERIMENTAL		CONTROL	
	men n=20	women n=29	men n=13	women n=23
YES	0.60	0.79	0.54	0.83
NO	0.40	0.21	0.46	0.17

TABLE LX

If your daughter had been raped, do you think you would marry your daughter to the offender?"

answer:	EXPERIMENTAL		CONTROL	
	men n=20	women n=29	men n=13	women n=24
YES	0.10	0.00	0.15	0.17
NO	0.40	0.74	0.69	0.58
no answer	0.40	0.13	0.00	0.08
if profitable/if he gives money/ if he is rich	0.05	0.06	0.08	0.08
if she likes him, yes	0.05	0.00	0.08	0.08
maybe	0.00	0.06	0.00	0.00

BOY PREFERENCE

TABLE LXI

Would the respondents try for a boy if they had only daughters?

	EXPERIMENTAL		CONTROL	
	mcn (n=21)	womcn (n=33)	mcn (n=14)	womcn (n=30)
YES	0.33	0.58	0.07	0.53
NO	0.33	0.30	0.86	0.43
no answer	0.29	0.09	0.00	0.00
try for more children for religious reasons	0.00	0.00	0.07	0.03
?	0.05	0.03	0.00	0.00

WIFE BATTERING

TABLE LXII

Does your husband beat you/do you beat your wife?"

	EXPERIMENTAL		CONTROL	
	men n=18	women n=30	men n=0	women n=27
YES	0.61	0.67	0.56	0.53
NO	0.39	0.33	0.44	0.47

TABLE LXIII

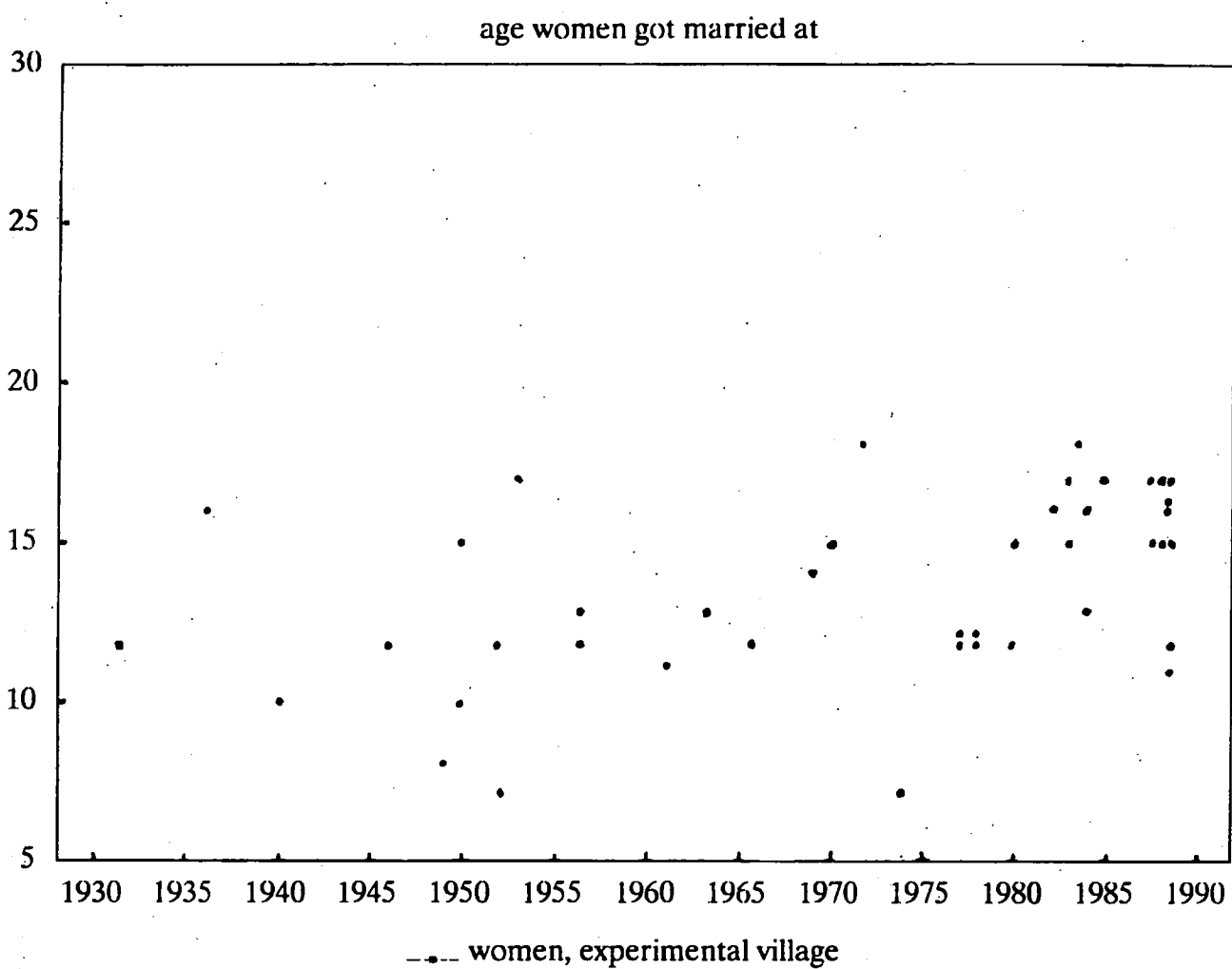
Why do men hit their wife?

	EXPERIMENTAL		CONTROL	
	men n=18	women n=30	men n=8	women n=17
when her work is not in order	0.44	0.33	0.38	0.29
fights in the family	0.06	0.07	0.00	0.12
when she was younger/ don't remember	0.06	0.03	0.25	0.00
about money	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.24
he enjoys it/because he is mad	0.00	0.07	0.00	0.06
when child cries, he hits the kid and the wife/when the children make problems	0.00	0.03	0.00	0.06
when she fights with her mother-in-law	0.00	0.00	0.13	0.06
wife got mad with him/ she walked off	0.06	0.00	0.13	0.00
because it is necessary	0.06	0.00	0.13	0.00
don't know	0.33	0.47	0.00	0.18

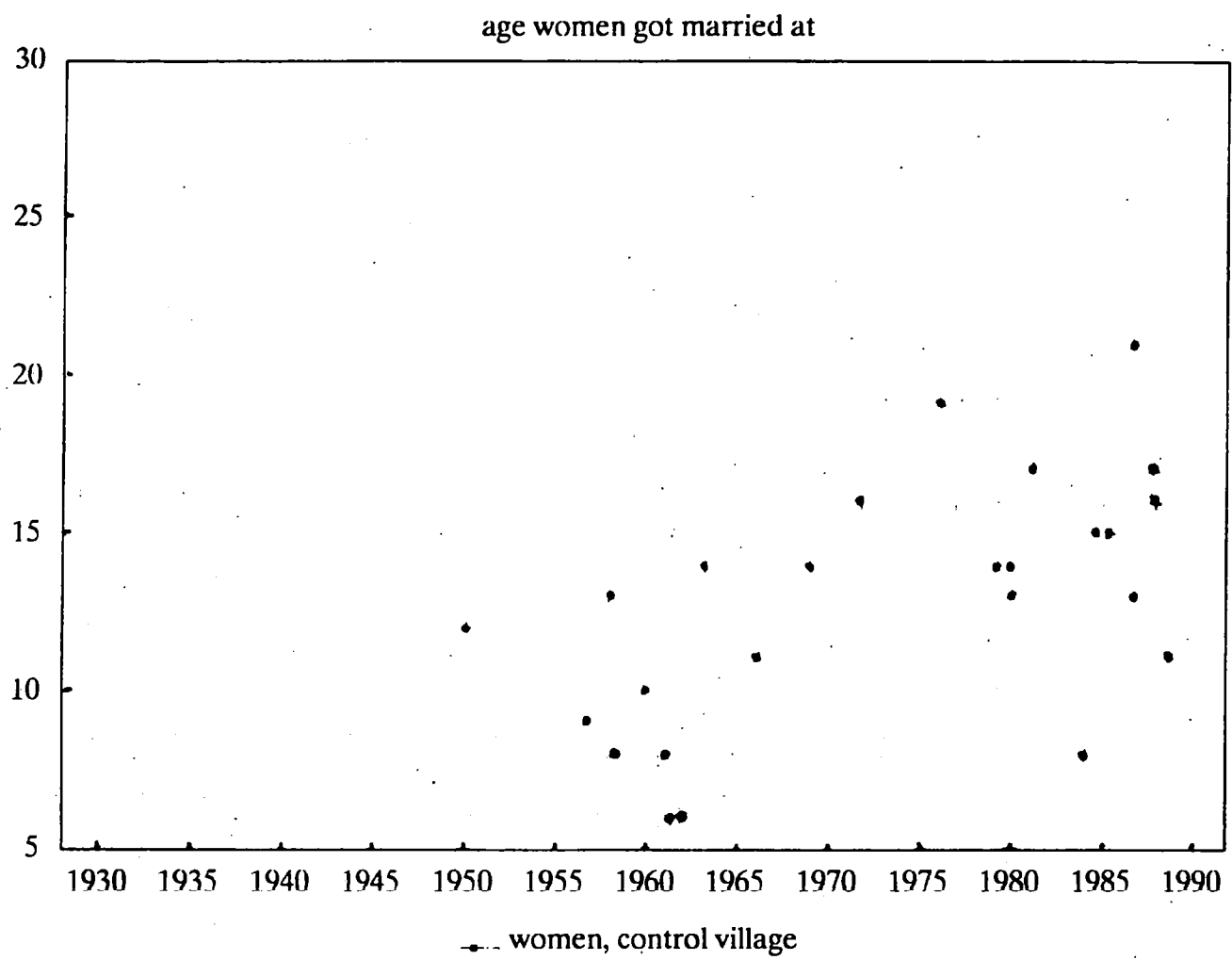
APPENDIX B

SCATTERGRAMS

Scattergram 1

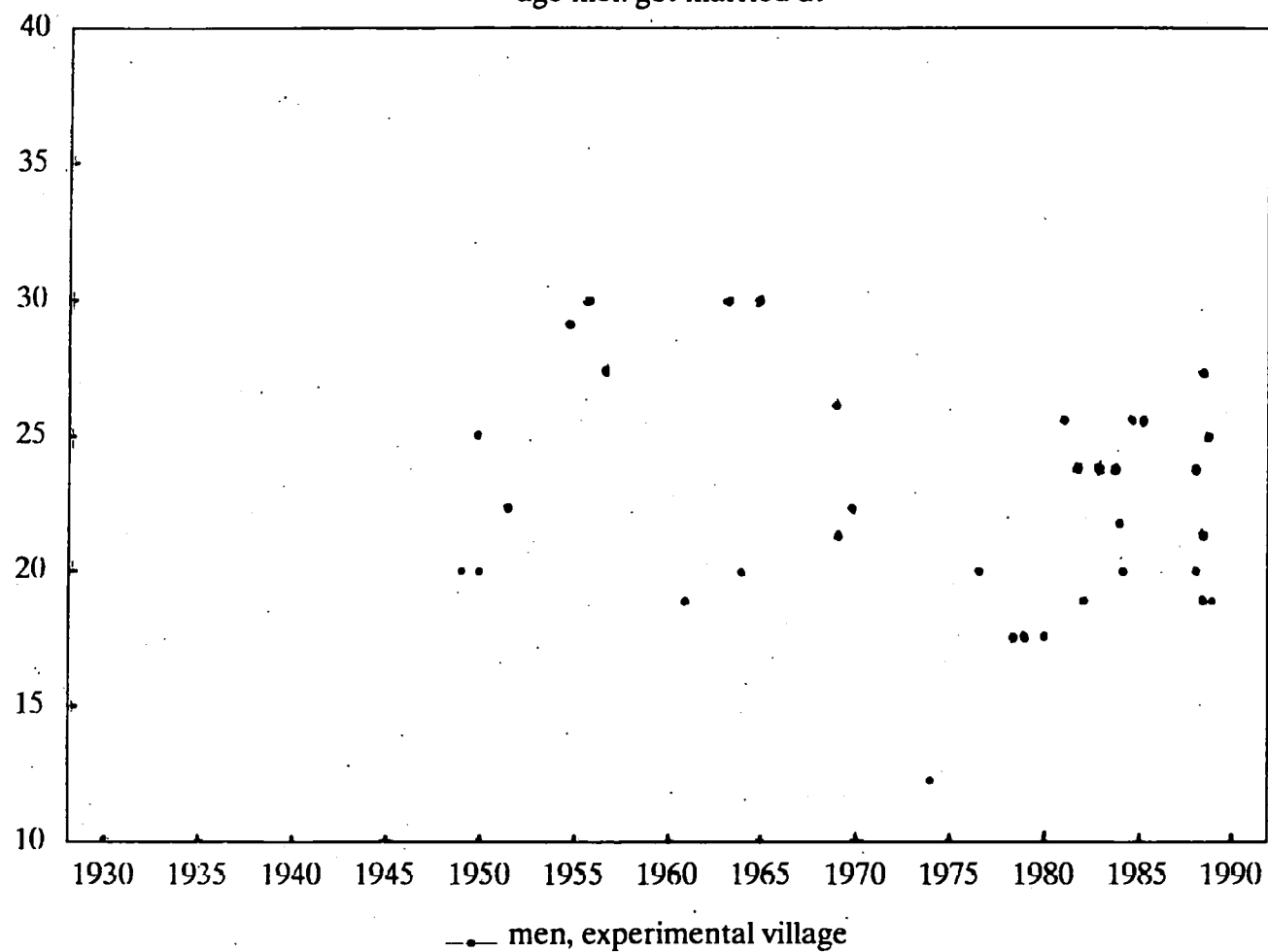


Scattergram 2



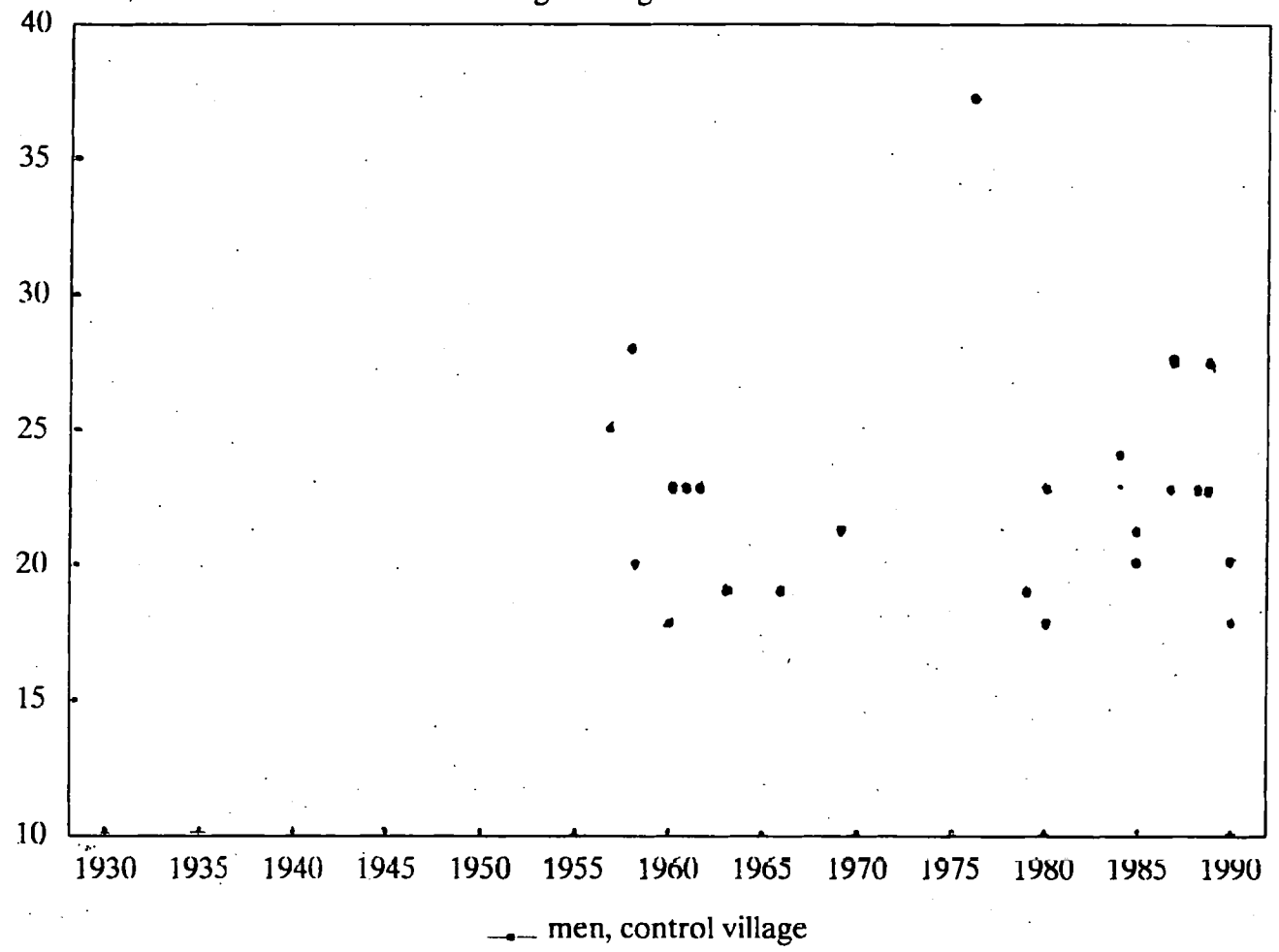
Scattergram 3

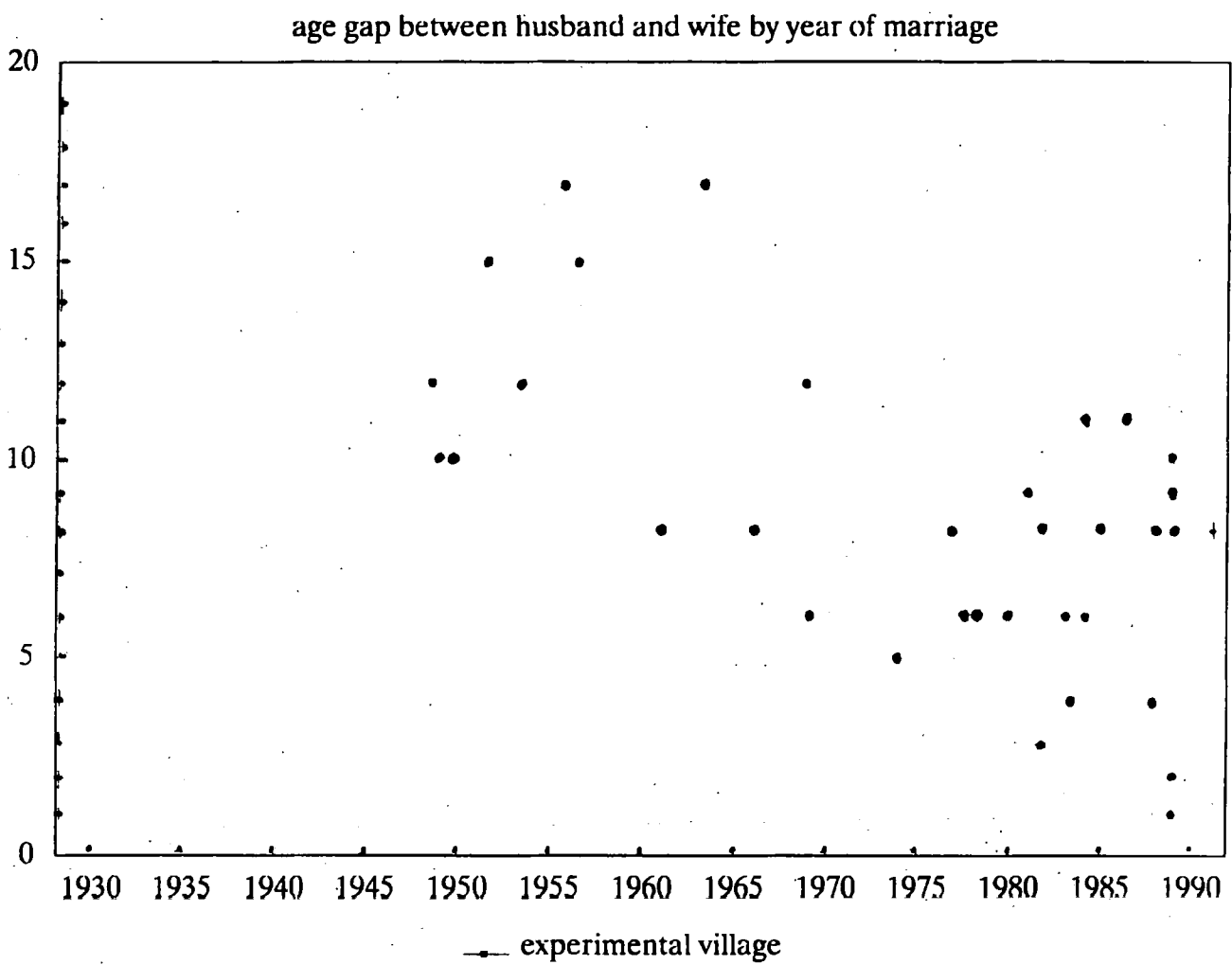
age men got married at

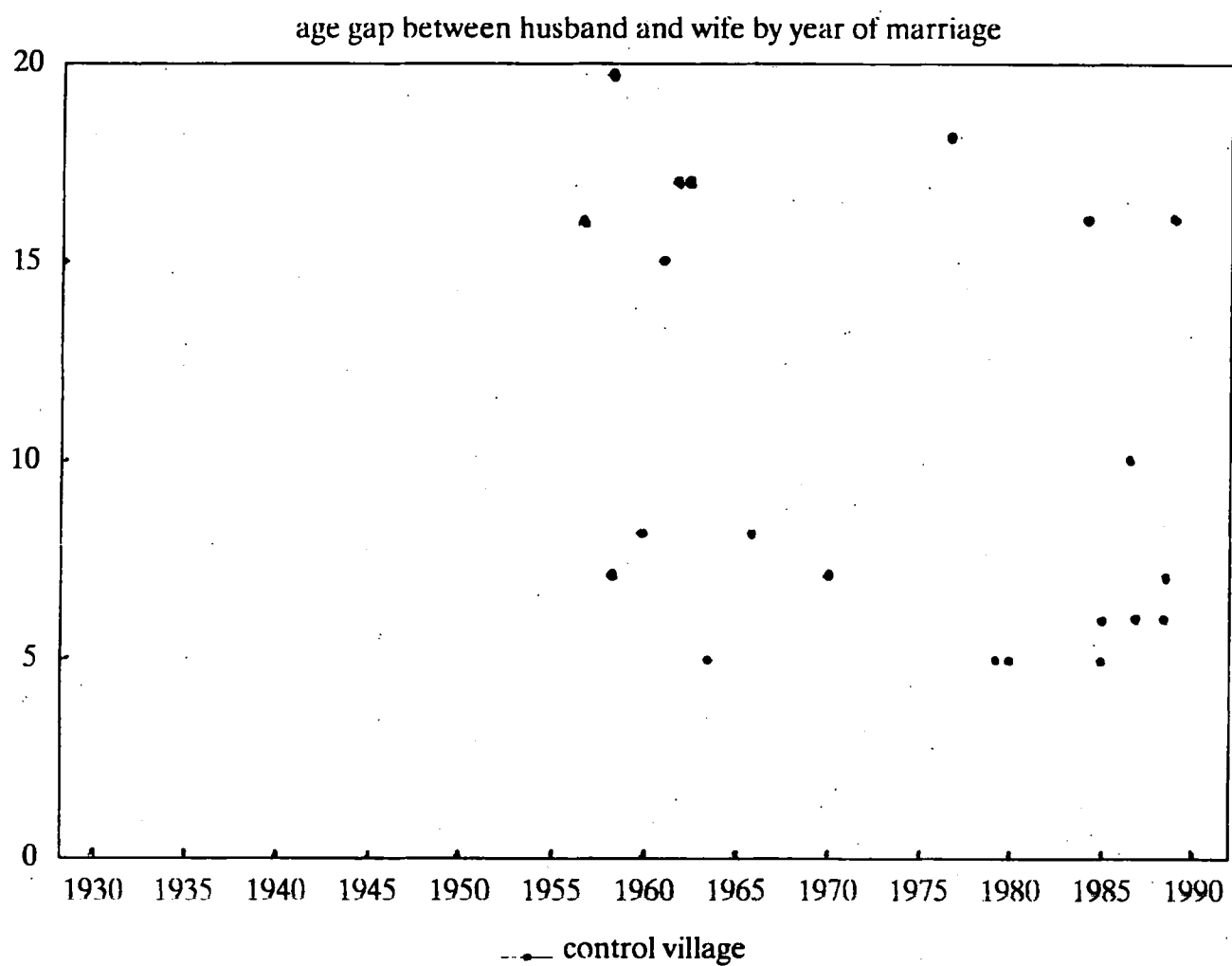


Scattergram 4

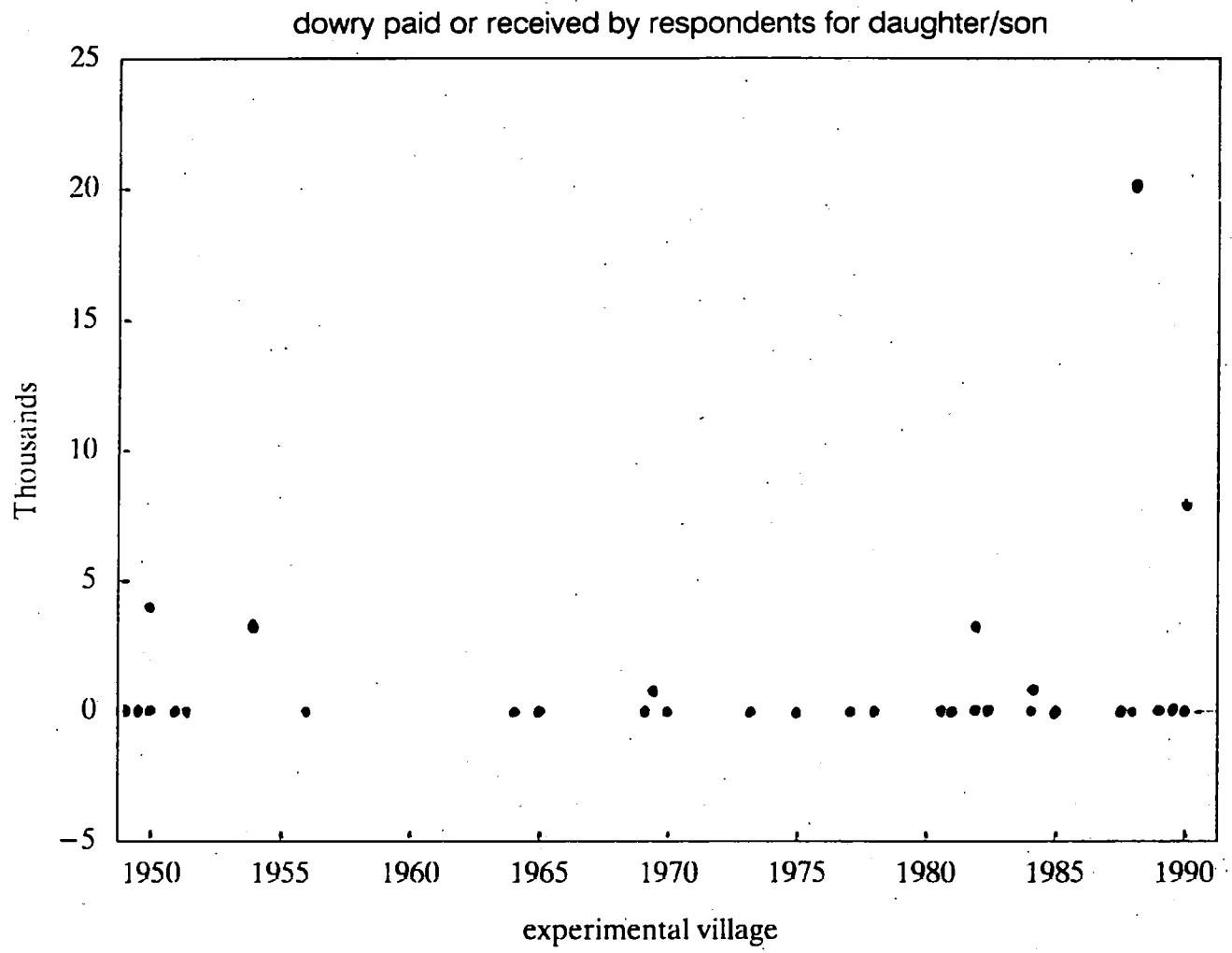
age men got married at

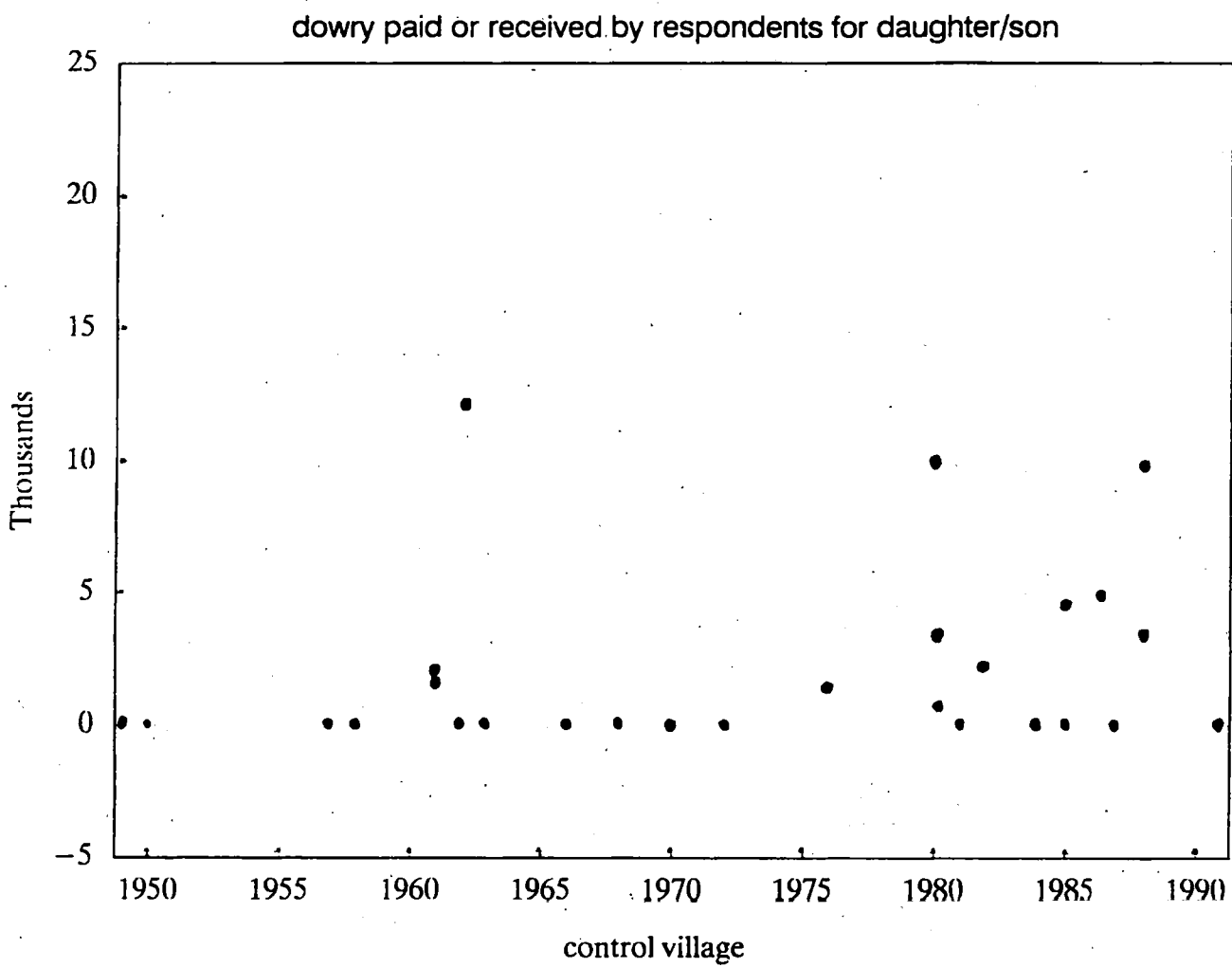






Scattergram 8





APPENDIX C

MAPS

